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The Chronicles of the EAST INDIA COMPANY trading to China 1635–1834

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THE E. I. C. CHARTERED SHIP *THOMAS COUTTS*

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The Chronicles of the EAST INDIA COMPANY trading to CHINA

1635–1834

By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D.
Author of *The Currency of China*, *The Gilds of China*
The Trade and Administration of China
The International Relations of the Chinese Empire

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CONVENTIONAL EQUIVALENTS

CURRENCY

THE tael of currency at Canton was treated in the accounts as equivalent to 6*s*. 8*d*. (£1 = Tls. 3).

The Spanish dollar was treated in the accounts as equivalent to Tls. 0·72 the exact equivalence in weight (apart from the touch of silver) being Tls. 100 = 120·8 oz. troy.

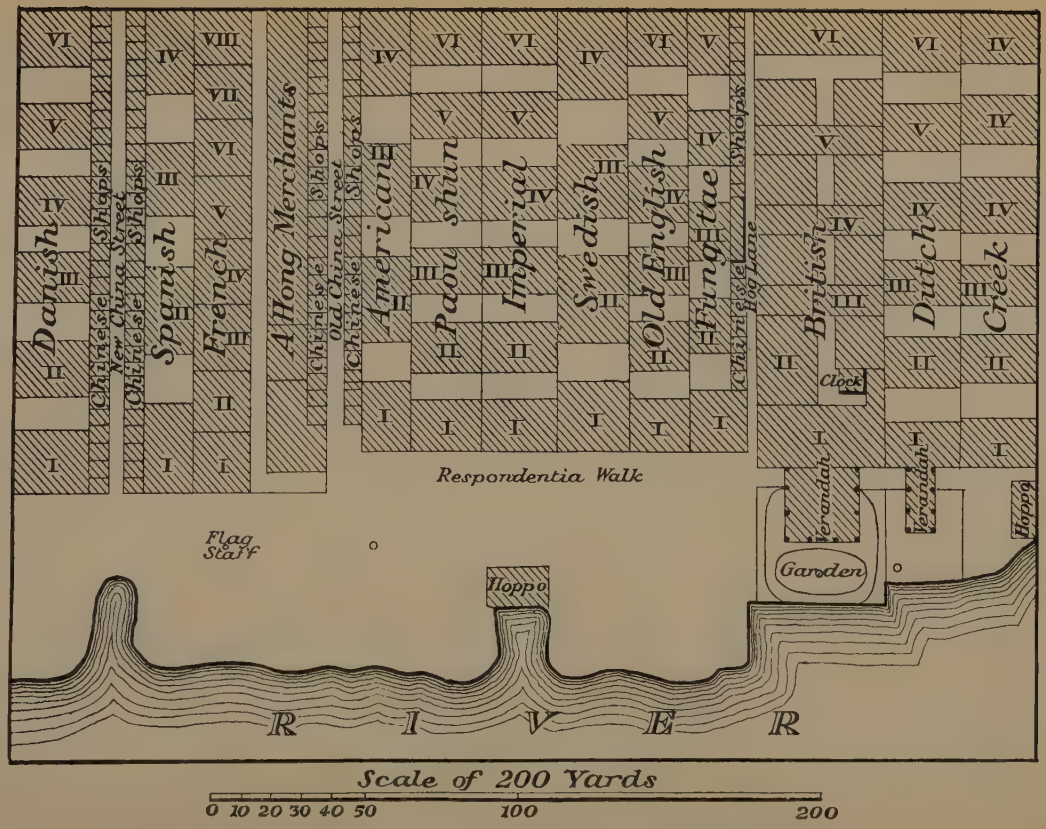
The Spanish dollar was invoiced from 1619 to 1814 at 5*s*. per dollar (£1 = 4 dollars). From 1815 it was invoiced at the actual cost (c.i.f. per oz. Salaries and other fixed charges at Canton were paid at the rate £100 = $416·67. Bills on the Company in London were issued at rates ranging from 4*s*. 10*d*. to 6*s*. per dollar, for bills payable 365 days after sight.

WEIGHT

The picul is 133⅓ lb. av. = 100 catties.
The catty is 1⅓ lb. av. = 16 taels.
The tael is 1⅓ oz. av.
The tael of Canton was actually 579·85 grains.

LENGTH

The *ch'ih* or 'covid' or 'cubit' of the carpenters of Canton was 14·1 English inches: used for measuring ships and cloth.



PLAN OF THE CANTON FACTORIES

LXI

PIRACY: KING'S SHIPS, 1805

For the season 1805 the Select Committee consisted of Messrs. James Drummond, Thomas Charles Pattle, and John William Roberts. The books were opened on March 1st with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury	483,492	
Tea in stock, 7,991 piculs	222,630	
Owed by Chinese merchants	323,770	
Factory account	28,691	
		1,058,583
Dr. to Owed to Chinese merchants		70,244
Credit Balance		988,339

The Company loaded 17 ships for London, of 19,635 tons, including 2 taken up locally. Their import cargoes on Company's account realized: Woollens, Tls. 2,795,550; tin, Tls. 180,830; lead, Tls. 76,233; iron bars, Tls. 2,817; total English products, Tls. 3,055,430; Indian produce, Tls. 153,705: total Tls. 3,209,135. During the season the Committee received into the treasury against bills on London (at 5*s.* 6*d.* and 365 days) 2,707,479 dollars; bills on Bengal (at 43 and equally 30, 45, and 60 days) 1,290,000 dollars; certificates 219,172 dollars; for freight 26,178 dollars; total 4,242,829 dollars = Tls. 3,054,837. Included in this were transfers in favour of Chinese merchants Tls. 808,128. The investment by the 17 ships was invoiced at Tls. 5,197,342. Factory expenses were Tls. 65,435.

The London ships took on board for Canton 215 chests of silver dollars, 749,768 ounces, invoiced at £202,281, but the whole was taken out at Madras by order of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis.

The following are the trade particulars of the season 1805:

		Ships. No.	*Cotton.* Piculs.	*Tea.* Piculs.	*Silk.* Piculs.	*Nankeens* Pieces.
English	Company	17	96,102	179,040	158	298,500
	Country	36	310,392	3,454	369	67,500
American		41	7,714	87,771	55	1,250,000
Swedish		3	no report received.			
Danish		2	..	13,049	..	57,000
Russian		2	..	522	..	6,500
		101	414,208	283,836	582	1,679,500

The Danish ships were of 1,000 and 660 tons respectively. Of the American ships the first 30 to arrive were of a total tonnage of 9,359 tons, or an average of 312 tons, making for the 41 a presumed total tonnage of 12,792. Under the British flag the Company's ships of 19,635 and 36 country ships of not less than 20,000 tons made a presumed total of about 40,000 tons. The cotton imported must have sold for not much less than Tls. 6,000,000.

Of ginseng American ships imported 1,517 piculs, English none. Of furs and skins the importation was as follows:

	English.	*Russian.*	*American.*
Sealskins	..	132,200	162,650
Other fine furs	860	15,720	52,067
Rabbit skins	..	2,300	33,205

The American ships are reported to have brought 3,979,000 dollars in silver, and the Danish 420,000 dollars, making a total of nearly four and a half million dollars introduced into Canton, besides the stock of the Swedish ships, and what Spanish and Portuguese ships may have brought to Macao.

The Russian ship *Nadejda*, Captain Krusenstern, arrived on December 2, 1805, originally from Kronstadt, with an embassy from the Tsar to Japan. She left Falmouth on September 30, 1803, doubled Cape Horn in March 1804, arrived at Kamchatka in July, stayed there two months, and arrived at Nagasaki on October 8th. She was there for six months, the Japanese refusing to have anything to do with an embassy; and the prospect of trade seemed unfavourable even under such conditions as were imposed on the Dutch. The summer of 1805 was spent in a running survey of the western side of the Japanese

islands as far up as the northern end of Saghalin. Having ' discharged the embassy ' at the port of St. Peter and St. Paul (Petropavlovskii), the ship sailed for Macao on October 9th. She was joined on December 9th by the small ship *Neva*, ' laden with an experimental consignment of Furs for this market ', in quantity sufficient, it was calculated, to provide a homeward investment for the two ships. Within a month and a half—the investment was probably not large nor carefully selected—on January 24, 1806,

> the Russian Ships having now nearly completed their Lading application has been repeatedly made to the Hoppo for the concluding Chop in order to ship off the remainder of their property on shore previous to the intended departure of the Ships, but owing to the unexpected interference of the Tsontoc, we learn that the progress of their business has been totally suspended, obviously with a view of defeating for a time at least, their design of quitting the port.

The Court of Directors had written, under date of November 23, 1803, recommending the Russian embassy and the ship to the good offices of the Committee ; and they summoned the merchants and urged them to exert themselves to procure the departure of the ships. The merchants were repeatedly with the Viceroy or the Hoppo on the business ; but for a long time permission was withheld, and was ultimately granted only on February 8th. A week later, on the 14th, orders came from Peking to refuse all trade to the Russians and prohibit their departure :

> It seems that His Imperial Majesty expresses much surprize and displeasure that the Russians should seek to establish any other commercial intercourse with the Chinese, beside that which they were permitted to carry on at the Frontier of Kiachta, and to which inland Trade it is His Majesty's pleasure they should in future strictly confine themselves.

In this season a new development was reported in the American trade with Canton. The greater part of each year's national stock, with which to buy the investment, had always been in the form of silver dollars, helped out by ginseng in relatively small quantities, and by furs brought to some extent from Atlantic ports, but for the greater part from the trading stations of the ' North-west Coast of America '. Some sealskins

had been brought from the South Pacific, but now the great discovery was made that the South Sea Islands produced sandalwood, which was to be obtained at little more than the demurrage of the ship while the trees were being cut. Under date January 22, 1806, appears the following record:

An American Ship lately arrived from the South Seas has imported between Two & Three Thousand Peculs of Sandalwood the produce of the Fajee [Fiji] Islands where it is said immense Forests of the same species of Wood have lately been discovered. Although the Wood of the present importation is of good quality and consists of large pieces, yet as it appears to require considerable cleaning we do not find that it is likely to obtain in the market a price altogether equal to that which has been given this Season for the Canara and Mysore produce. It is reported however that the expense of collecting the Cargo of this Vessel has not exceeded the very moderate sum of 3,000 Dollars.

The market value at Canton of 2,500 piculs would be fully Tls. 50,000.

Again we have a calculation of the amount of tonnage given up for the privilege of commanders and officers. In the case of four ships, of which the chartered tonnage was 1,200 tons each, the builder's measurement running from 1,254 to 1,272 tons, the commanders appear to have had from 56 to 62 tons from London to Bombay; from Bombay to Canton it is clear that they had from 290 to 300 tons. In another ship, chartered 1,200, builder's measurement 1,273 tons, the lading was as follows:

	Tons.
Bale goods London to Canton at 40 c. ft. ℔ ton	223
Sandalwood, Madras to Canton, at 20 cwt. ℔ ton	20
Cotton, Madras to Canton, 2,194 bales at 50 c. ft. ℔ ton . . .	521
Cotton disposed of to commander 340 bales do.	80
Deadweight: Lead and tin from London	150
Kentledge	146
	1,140
Tonnage for benefit of commander and Officers	133
	1,273

The claim for defective quality and quantity of the teas amounted in this season to a total of Tls. 39,972, in which the charge for 'half of . . . Amount of Deficiencies in sundry Parcels' accounted for Tls. 14,338, and deductions for quality inferior to muster Tls. 19,058. In the last item, more directly a fraud

of the merchant, Ponqua was liable for Tls. 5,104, Gnewqua Tls. 10,761, and Conseequa Tls. 2,324. Against these claims the merchants protested vigorously, declaring that they must abandon the trade if the demand was persisted in ; but in the end they paid, the amounts being debited to their respective accounts.

Prices were not again changed in this season, either on the one hand for woollens, or on the other for standard teas. In the whole trade the principle of barter prevailed, as exemplified in the case of pepper from Benkulen :

> As the China price of Pepper continues about Tls. 9·60 and the Duties and Charges not less than 8 or 9 mace, we are not surprized to find that our Merchants seem generally unwilling to offer more than Tls. 8·50 or Tls. 9 for the present consignment in which terms we should probably have been compelled to acquiesce, had not Conseequa come forward with a very liberal offer of 10 Tales, provided we consented to pack 2,000 Chests [5,400 piculs] of Bohea with him, at 12 Tales ℔ Pecul.

The house of Ponqua continued to be in a state of unstable equilibrium, never toppling over, but on one occasion requiring the help of the Committee for its maintenance. On November 15, 1805,

> Mowqua and Puiqua acquainted the Committee that the Hoppo being about to retire and the 25th being the day on which the report of the receipt of Duties had been sent to the Emperor last Season, he had announced his intention of taking away Ponquas Chop, unless he immediately discharged the amount of his debt to Government, amounting to 145,000 Tales, principally the Duties on his Camlets and Woollens.

The two merchants offered their personal security for a loan to Ponqua of 200,000 dollars = Tls. 144,000 in specie, and the Committee agreed to advance the money. It was repaid by the two on February 16th, the day before the last day of the year, on which in China all accounts must be settled in full. Trading accounts between the Committee and the merchants were, however, not necessarily subject to this rule, though every effort was made by the Committee to ease the settlement for the Chinese : thus the last payments by the Committee before this settlement were made on February 2nd to the amount of 547,219 dollars, and no further payment from the treasury is

shown in the records until the books for the season 1806 were opened, when the account at the opening of the next chapter shows that only 10,000 dollars in silver remained in hand. The English credit stood high, higher than that of other foreigners, of whom it is noted that they,

altho' incapable of paying for them [certain teas] with ready money, allow a handsome compensation for the accommodation of Credit.

The English Company's trade was expanding and more spacious premises were seen to be necessary; and at the opening of this season the Committee wrote in that sense to the Court of Directors, and opened negotiations with Puankhequa to sell or lease to them the factory adjoining that now occupied by them, the two to be occupied together.

In the previous season the Viceroy had accepted a letter from the King for transmission to the Emperor, but both he and the Hoppo had refused to accept other letters for the Prime Minister and for themselves. In April the Committee, being at Macao, were informed by Puankhequa that orders had been received from the Court of Peking to send up the originals of those letters, four in number; that he had gone to the factory and obtained the letters from the comprador; and that the whole body of Hong Merchants had taken them to the Viceroy, together with Sir G. T. Staunton's translation. Three weeks later came word that in the official dispatches

the conduct of the Tsontoc in declining to receive the letters addressed to himself, the Colao [Prime Minister] and Hoppo, is approved, as conformable to the Customs of the Empire, but curiosity or some latent motive has induced Orders for the transmission of the four letters to Pekin for private inspection, after which they will be returned in order that they may be sent back to England.

This was less encouraging, and still less so was the discovery that suspicion was at the bottom of the order. For the Prime Minister of former years had now been substituted a Council of four Colaos; and the Committee were required to state definitely what was the name of the single Colao to whom the letter was addressed. In the words of the Hoppo's mandate

His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to inform me of an Imperial Mandate directing that the Na-yen-tching do enquire from the said Chief for what personal the letter addressed to the Minister of

the Heavenly Empire of China was designed, and inform him that no letters or presents can be addressed in future to the Ministers of the Empire Khintse.

To the query the Committee were compelled to reply that they did not know. This did not satisfy the Viceroy; and an active correspondence was maintained for some months, until the matter was overshadowed by affairs of greater importance.

One difficulty always confronting the Committee was that of interpreting and translating, when, excepting for Sir G. T. Staunton's work, the only interpreters were Chinese knowing only pidgin English. In the matter of the letters:

The difficulty in obtaining a faithful interpretation of a letter by means of the Merchants is almost insurmountable, it being only by general expressions that we can at any time render ourselves intelligible.

Later on, when facilities for the King's ships were in question, Mr. Drummond entered on a long explanation in addressing an officer deputed by the Viceroy:

We noticed however with much regret that the force of this representation was wholly evaded by Puankhequa, who compressed into a very few words his interpretation of the President's sentiments, to which the Mandarine made no reply.

The authorities also showed their dissatisfaction when any clerical or scholarly help was given to the Committee.[1]

The Merchants attended the Committee to enquire by order of the Viceroy who were the Writers of Captain Wood's letter and list of Cargo, to which it was simply replied that our knowledge was confined to a request of Capt. Wood to Sir George Staunton, to translate his letter and list of Cargo, which we understood had been complied with, but if they wished to ascertain the persons by whom they were copied, they must proceed to the Bogue to endeavor to obtain that information from Captain Wood, whom it alone concerned.

Pirates were again very active around the estuary and among the islands, being especially enterprising up the Broadway, and avoiding only the places at which the Macao authorities stationed the grab which they had fitted out for the protection of their home waters. In March, 1805, it was stated that

the combined force of these formidable freebooters is reported to consist of between 600 and 700 Vessels, of which 200 are stationed to the Eastward and the remainder among the Islands on the Western Coast and about Hainan.

[1] Cf. vol. ii, p. 343.

The Committee complained that the Chinese authorities took no action to suppress piracy; and in April it was recorded that

a fleet of Salt Junks arrived from the Westwards, having been convoyed by a squadron of the Ladrone [pirate] Vessels; it is affirmed each Boat paid 200 Dollars for this protection and permission to pass unmolested. The Pirates have taken their station on the Broadway and prevent all communication with Hiang Shan by Water.

Salt in China is a Government monopoly, and the junks conveying it were quasi-Government vessels. The activity of the pirates is again referred to in July, at the end of which month one boat was destroyed by the Portuguese brig and grab. The boat was armed with four heavy guns and manned by a crew of 60, of whom 29 were taken prisoners and handed over to the Chinese authorities. On September 15th

Intimation has been conveyed to the Portuguese Government of the intention of the Mandarins to conduct the Prisoners taken in the Ladrone Boat on the 27th July last to Macao, where those who had been convicted of Piracy would be executed and the others who were acquitted would be liberated. Between 6 & 7 in the Evening they accordingly brought down 10 men, all of whom were immediately beheaded without the gates of the City. These wretches much reduced by their long confinement and the tortures probably to which they had been exposed, appeared on their arrival rather rejoiced at their fate which would relieve them from sufferings worse perhaps than death itself.

In August two American residents, Mr. Dobell and Mr. Biddle, while on their way from Macao to Canton, lost all their possessions, their Chop boat having been taken by the Ladrones, and themselves having narrowly escaped being made prisoners. All small craft were constantly exposed to great risk, many villages within the river had been attacked, plundered, and burned, and even the factories at Canton were not entirely safe. The Committee commented on

the want of energy not to term it pusillanimity of this Government and their reprehensible negligence in concealing from the knowledge of the Emperor, the very existence of Pirates infesting the Coast, is perhaps the most alarming circumstance—it being evident that so long as this culpable conduct is persevered in, the public money cannot be appropriated to defray the equipment of an adequate force, to destroy, or even to drive the Pirates off the Coast.

The Committee then argued in favour of a plan suggested in previous seasons, of equipping two small vessels to be stationed permanently at Macao, and to serve for surveying the coasts and seas, for aiding the Company's ships when in distress, and for ridding the waters of these pirates.

The King's ships convoying the Indiamen created the usual difficulty. Even before their arrival the Viceroy and Hoppo jointly, on August 15, 1805, issued a mandate to the Hong Merchants in connexion with the King's letter, referring to the known fact that ships of war convoying the Indiamen had been restricted to the Lintin and the Taipa anchorages, and stating that the Imperial orders directed that

> as fixed and determinate places of anchorages have heretofore been allotted to Foreign Ships, the same shall be strictly observed now as formerly.

This early announcement of a determination to exclude them from either Anson's Bay or Chuenpi, at which they would most certainly find shelter and most conveniently be supplied, alarmed the Committee, and they addressed a long memorial to the two officials, in which they explained the customary treatment of the national vessels of friendly powers, and gave a *résumé* of the various occasions on which the King's ships had visited Chinese waters.[1] The question of their status was now mixed up with an incident of war. H.M.S. *Phaeton* in September took prize off the coast of Mindanao a Spanish brig with a rich cargo valued at 103,900 dollars. She was dispatched with a prize crew to Macao, but was wrecked to the eastward at a place supposed to be Haerlem Bay. H.M.S. *Harrier* was sent to the rescue, and found that the brig, after suffering from bad weather, had been beached at Pinghai in a bay near Pedra Branca, and that the whole of the cargo had been pillaged. The prize crew had been 'kept in close confinement by the Mandarin' of the district, and were brought by the *Harrier* to Macao. Letter after letter was sent by Captain John Wood, and later by Captain Bissell, both of the Royal Navy, to the Viceroy, demanding reparation and restoration of the plundered property; but on receiving the latest in February the Hong Merchants informed Captain Bissell that

[1] Cf. Appendix P.

the Viceroy is already so decidedly prepossessed against the object of the application that no benefit can at present be expected from urging the suit. The Viceroy observed that orders had long ago been transmitted to the Mandarin of the District to cause the necessary inquiries to be made.

The first letter from the senior officer, Captain Wood of the *Phaeton*, was sent on October 6th to Whampoa by the hands of Captain Ratsay in his ship the *Harrier*. The Committee did not intervene, since they wished it to be clearly understood that they exercised no control over the King's ships or officers, though they gave all possible assistance. The Viceroy, being applied to, consented to receive the letter from Captain Ratsay's hands at an audience,

provided no objection was made to the prescribed ceremonial, according to which the Viceroy was to keep his seat, without allowing any to Captain Ratsay. The Merchants were desired to acquaint His Excellency that the rank Captain Ratsay held in the service of the King of England entitled him to a seat in the presence of any magistrate of the Chinese Empire, on which account it was hoped that the Viceroy would not annex a degrading condition to his reception, which it was impossible for him to accede to ; or that in the event of the invariable Customs of China being made a plea for the refusal of a seat on this occasion, His Excellency would at least consent to receive him standing.

The Viceroy on this request being made was very indignant that a mere naval officer, not even a civilian, should so presume ; he had been willing to overlook the audacity of the officer in bringing his ship to Whampoa without permission, and was now rewarded by being required to rise from his place and show the officer the same respect that his predecessor had the year before shown to the letter from the King to the Emperor. So indignant was he, that he held the intermediary, Puankhequa, responsible for the English officer's attitude, and

the interview ended with a demand from Puankhequa of 100,000 Tales on pain of having his conduct exposed to the indignation of His Imperial Majesty.

This extortionate demand was part of a demand from the Hong Merchants for a benevolence of Tls. 200,000 (towards which Puankhequa had been assessed at Tls. 50,000) for the cost of preparations for suppressing piracy. The unauthorized and illegal entrance of the *Harrier* inside the Bogue had given

to the Viceroy the whip-hand over the body of Security Merchants, and he was disposed to push his advantage to the utmost; but he was willing to deal more easily with Captain Ratsay. On October 17th, the Committee being still at Macao and Mr. Baring at Canton,

We understand by a letter received from Mr. Baring that the difficulty in point of etiquette has been compromised, the offer of the Viceroy to depute a Mandarin of rank to receive the letter in his name, having been accepted by Captain Ratsay, and the address was accordingly delivered to a military Mandarin decorated with a red Button and Peacock's Feather, who attended at the Factory on the 15th instant.

The Viceroy's reply, in the form of a 'declaratory edict and admonition', was quickly forthcoming. He directed the Hong Merchants to inform Captain Wood that officers had already been deputed to investigate the wreck and alleged pillaging, but he had serious fault to find with the *Harrier's* unauthorized entrance into the river.

The Great Sovereign of this Heavenly Kingdom regards all mankind with the eyes of charity and benevolence. He graciously permits an uninterrupted Trade to be carried on by Foreign Nations for Silks Teas & other articles for which they have occasion that they might not suffer the inconvenience resulting from the want of them. By several consecutive Edicts His Majesty has strictly enjoined all the Merchants to be fair and just in their dealings with Strangers, and not to deceive or injure them by art or insincerity. In short the Emperor treats and regards you as his Children, and has given innumerable proofs of his kindness and benevolence. Now however as this Ship of War in defiance of the Laws has presumed to pass the outworks of the Empire, what Pilot has ventured to conduct her? What share do the Hong Merchants take upon themselves in this affair?

Such language was calculated to daunt every Chinese—whether official or merchant—connected with the foreign trade; but Captain Wood returned to the charge, and, on October 25th, had ready another letter for the Viceroy in which he explained the rights properly asserted by national ships of friendly powers, and closed with a defence of his action in sending the *Harrier* into the river.

As the dispatch of His Majesty's Ship *Harrier* to Whampoa is animadverted to as illegal in the Edict published by Your Excellency, I have to reply that this step has not been taken without a previous

knowledge of the numerous precedents by which it is authorized and sanctioned; that I am not acquainted with any other mode of communicating directly and properly with the Chinese Government, for as an Officer of His Britannic Majesty, I cannot admit of a negotiation relative to His Ships through the medium of Merchants, whether English or Chinese, and that Your Excellency may be assured that the same measures will ever be adopted by King's Ships in a similar predicament, more especially while Pilots are invariably refused them under any circumstances.

The issue was fairly joined in a sense, but, in fact, the discussion was on parallel lines which could never meet. The Viceroy's answer, returned promptly, was written on the back of Sir G. Staunton's translation of Captain Wood's letter, and was identical in language with his previous answer. The Committee returned to Canton on November 2nd, and Mr. Drummond was at once visited by Puankhequa, who

complained in bitter terms of the unprecedented severity exercised towards him by the Tsontoc, in not only demanding an enormous contribution but designing to render it personally disgraceful by trying (*sic*) the amount as a mulct on his misconduct, and this hardship he said had been entailed on him by the dispatch of the *Harrier* to Whampoa.

On November 9th Captain Wood sent up another letter, which at first the merchants refused to deliver; but when it was pointed out that the Royal Navy was not under the control of the Committee, and that a refusal to present the letter would inevitably induce Captain Wood to send it in again by the *Harrier*, they consented to inform the Viceroy of its arrival. He the next day sent the same military officer to receive it at the factory. The next day the Hong Merchants informed the Committee that

the Viceroy having received Captain Wood's letter had perused the contents with much astonishment, and had even appealed to the Merchants whether he really merited such language and undisguised censures on his conduct. Some objectionable words were then pointed out as presumptuous and disproportionable to the occasion. The Merchants had obviously weakened the force of the letter by observing that the Europeans were not sufficiently masters of the language to give more than a literal and imperfect version, without either feeling the force of particular characters or knowing the art of combining them with decorum and propriety.

The Viceroy declared that, if he returned any answer to the memorial, he could not avoid animadverting very strongly on the character of the language used, and the charges brought; and that in fact Captain Wood was making mountains of mole-hills; and the merchants maintained to the Committee that

the Viceroy's Conduct throughout this Affair had really been correct, consistently with the forms and usages established in China, and ought therefore to have been acquiesced in by us.

The Viceroy eventually decided to return the letter without an answer, since the only answer he could make must prove to be very disagreeable and would prolong an angry discussion. The Committee refused to touch the letter, and the merchants were compelled to deposit it at their 'Congso or Public Hall'.

We understand that notwithstanding the disagreeable subject of the interview, the Merchants were treated by the Viceroy with much apparent mildness & civility, and the incongruity of his conduct would have occasioned us some surprize had we not learnt that His Excellency had only yesterday been conciliated by Puankhequa's final acquiescence provided it appeared as a voluntary offer to the Emperor and not exacted as a punishment for misconduct.

The Viceroy's good temper continued; and a few days later the Hoppo sent a Chop for a comprador to supply the King's ships in Anson's Bay with provisions—for which the Committee had long been asking. The favour to Captain Wood and the *Phaeton* was the more marked in that somewhat later, on December 29th, the same facility was refused to H.M. ships *Blenheim* and *Hughes*.

The Committee record a valuable minute on the Consoo Fund, under date of January 5, 1806:

Previous to the departure of the Merchants we deemed it our duty to notice to them, and require their opinions on the application we are directed by the Hon'ble Court to make to the Government to repeal the Conso Charges, although the knowledge we have long possessed of the nature and origin of that assessment, left no doubt in our minds of the uselessness and impropriety of any measure originating with us for its removal. It cannot be necessary to apprize the Hon'ble Court, that the practice of exacting frequent contributions from the Merchants for the support of the provincial Government, as well as for the immediate supply of His Imperial Majesty's Treasury, is a grievance coeval with the Trade itself, the Pressure of which had been invariably

felt, exclusive of the different instances of fraud and peculation, which at some times have been successfully resisted, and at other times passively submitted to, from the general venality and corruption prevailing among the Officers of this Government.

The Charges for the Service of the State have encreased partly in the proportion to the necessities of Government, and partly in proportion to the ability of the Merchants to contribute, arising from the gradual extension of the Trade with Europeans, and these were consequently levied on different individuals, occasionally in a very unfair and arbitrary manner until the Establishment of a Conso or Common Fund, which although originally destined solely for the very different purpose of liquidating the debts of the members of their own body, has likewise afforded the merchants a regular and constant provision for discharging the demands of Government against them. Being created by a general assessment on the Chief articles of European Trade sanctioned by Government, the application of this fund operated a fair and equal distribution of the Burthen, without increasing it, either with respect to Europeans who do not directly pay or are considered personally answerable for duties of any kind in China, or with respect to the Merchants themselves, who whenever a surplus remains are authorized, and frequently do proportionately divide and withdraw from the Fund, the unappropriated excess. It is however indisputably our business and interest to resist by every means in our power any increase of these charges, whether it were proposed to be effected by including our Woollens in the Assessment from which they have hitherto been exempted, or whether it were the unavoidable consequence of the bankruptcy of any individual Hong Merchant, in which latter case it has therefore ever been thought advisable to adopt reasonable means for their relief and support.

And for this line of conduct the chief motive seems to be suggested by the probability, that the demands of Government not being fixed and unvariable, a pretext would easily be found for their increase, when the Conso fund was perceived to yield a considerable annual surplus. Every species of oppression that is practised on the Merchants we are fully aware must ultimately prove more or less a burthen on the Trade, but we must confess that we can scarcely deem it within our province to remonstrate against assessments which have long been established and are now regularly appropriated by the sanction of Government. Of the degree of success that might attend such an application if made from high authority in England to the supreme power in this Country, we are unable, and indeed are not called upon to form any idea, but we have too much reason to believe that if at present attempted by us, it would be regarded as little better than insolent intrusion and dismissed accordingly with indifference and contempt.

On proposing the subject to the Merchants, Puankhequa assured us

that however greatly he might lament and suffer from the exactions of Government, he was persuaded that an attempt to obtain the repeal of the Conso Charges, or any part of them, would prove perfectly nugatory and fruitless, without attaining the end proposed by us should it even prove successful, if however he added we could entertain any serious Ideas on the subject, we had only to address the Hoppo or any other branch of Government, in order fully to ascertain the fallacy of our expectations.

On July 15th a Siamese sailor serving on a Portuguese ship in the Taipa anchorage murdered a Chinese acting as interpreter on board. The ship had been chartered to carry opium on account of the dealers to a port on the East coast :

We understand the Senate to avoid discussions with the Chinese Government which might occasion a suspension of their Trade, and involve the Opium Dealers, who had hired the deceased to act as Interpreter at the Port to which the Ship was bound, having given a sum of money to the Wife and Brother of the murdered Chinese to prevent a complaint to the Mandarins, but the Chinese Constables, who had not participated in the gratuity, stopped the Corpse while proceeding to the place of interment, and it was only after exacting 3 or 400 Dollars that their Clamors were silenced and the Body was permitted to be buried.

It must be remembered that the Chinese exercised complete jurisdiction—territorial, judicial, and fiscal—in Macao, though they did not usually intervene when no Chinese interest was involved. The Portuguese, however, were always trying to extend full sovereignty over the place ; and on this occasion they arrested the sailor and tried him :

The Hiam Shan Yune [Heungshan Hien] soon obtained information on the subject, and being influenced it is supposed by venal motives, he became extremely urgent and imperious in his demands that the offender should be given up to him and submitted to a Chinese Trial ; and threatened to deprive the Portuguese of their usual supplies, by cutting off the communication with Canton if compliance were refused.

The accused was, however, condemned by the Portuguese, and the fact communicated on October 10th to the Heungshan Hien, who at once quitted the vicinity of Macao. He was the next day followed by his deputy, the Tsotang, who normally resided in Macao, both being unwilling to countenance the irregularity. On the 12th

The Criminal was publicly executed at an early hour this morning

and with considerable form & parade, the Garrison under Arms and the principal Officers of the Macao Government being present. Not the smallest interference was attempted by the Chinese.

In the season 1800 two French missionaries, Père Richenet and Père Dumazel, came out in the Company's ship *Dorsetshire* with the intention of proceeding to Peking; but they had been compelled to remain at Canton. In June, 1805, they informed the Committee of 'their approaching departure in consequence of positive orders from the Emperor, and that they expect to quit Canton in a few days'. They started on their way under the escort of a Chinese officer, but were turned back from the borders of the province of Chihli

by an Imperial Order revoking the former permission and directing that they might be reconducted to Canton without loss of time so as to be enabled to return to their native Country.

They arrived at Canton on December 22nd. In the previous July, while these two were on their way to the north, an Italian missionary, who had attempted to enter Shensi, was brought back from that province to Canton,

where he is at present in close confinement and in considerable danger of being ultimately condemned to death, for the attempt to introduce himself clandestinely to the interior of the Empire.

The severity of their treatment in both instances was attributed to the arrest of a messenger from the Bishop of Peking carrying maps and letters in which was found much frank and outspoken criticism of the authorities.

The attempt to introduce vaccination had failed in the previous season; but in May, 1805, Mr. Pearson, surgeon to the English factory, obtained from the Portuguese ship *Esperanza* from Manila to Macao,

some Vaccine Virus which had been introduced to the Philippine Islands by living subjects from Mexico, in obedience to the orders of the King of Spain.

Mr. Pearson drew up a pamphlet, which was put into Chinese by Sir G. Staunton, 'with the assistance of a Chinese who follows the medical profession'; and this book of instructions was godfathered by Gnewqua,

who happens to be at present at Macao and who has promised to assist

in the translation and to lend the name of his Hong, without which, perhaps, it might not obtain circulation, it being indispensable that Books printed in China should appear the production of or be sanctioned by some Native holding a public situation.

In the following August the Committee sent copies of the pamphlet, together with an explanatory letter, to the Viceroy and Hoppo ; but neither were presented, since they arrived at a time when the Viceroy was most irritated with the merchants and with Captain Wood.

Out of piracy had come one incidental good. Mr. Kerr, the King's gardener, who came out in 1803 and remained behind to collect plants, was much hindered in his botanizing by the activity of the pirates in the country around Macao, and in December, 1804, had been sent to collect in the Philippines. He returned to Macao in September, 1805, bringing upwards of 700 living specimens with him, of which more than one hundred were new to science and had never been described. Most of them were lost in a gale outside the Taipa, but the hope was expressed that they could be replaced through the good offices of Spanish priests whose friendship had been gained by Mr. Kerr.

Emigration to Penang had been going on for some years, but it was on a small scale, not regularly organized, and consisted largely of artisans and other selected workers. In this season we have an organized scheme for the emigration of indentured labour brought forward in a letter of April 16, 1805, to the Committee from Mr. R. T. Farquhar, Lieut.-Governor of Prince of Wales Island and its Dependencies and Agent to the Governor-General, who took this step in conformity with instructions dated November 11, 1804, from Lord Wellesley, Governor-General in Council. The proposal was to send labourers to Trinidad, which had been annexed to the British Crown in 1797, and it was suggested that Chinese might be sent from Penang ' as a Rendezvous '. In his reply to Lord Wellesley, Mr. Farquhar pointed out—

1°. That, emigration being strictly prohibited by the Government of China and adjoining countries, adult males might be obtained to emigrate in contravention of the law, but not females or children.

2°. That the emigrants now go to the islands by junk, ' pawning

their persons for a passage and victuals to the amount of 20 Spanish Dollars', which is advanced by cultivators and repaid by monthly deductions from the wages. Emigrants for the long voyage to Trinidad should be engaged in China as sailors on the ships, brought to Penang, and there transferred to the ship for Trinidad. The cost of passage to Trinidad may be put at 40 to 50 dollars.

Other clauses provided for transport, reception, welfare while in Trinidad, and return to China; and, in order to obviate all difficulty with the authorities, it was proposed to assemble the emigrants at Macao and to send them by Portuguese ships to Penang. On this the Committee in secret session recorded a minute:

In respect to the plan suggested by Mr. Farquhar of sending the Chinese by Portuguese Ships, the Committee feel no hesitation in affording it every assistance in their power, but after the difficulties in which Puiqua was involved by the discovery of a few Chinese intending to emigrate in the *Walmer Castle*, they cannot but consider that it would be the height of temerity on their part to attempt the transport on board the Company's or even the Country Ships; as every facility however is experienced in getting Chinese on board Ships in Macao, and the object will be equally attained in whatever manner they find their way to Penang, the Committee consider it will be only proper to recommend the execution of Mr. Farquhar's engagement to the attention of Senhor de Campos, and should it hereafter be found expedient to promote the emigration to a greater extent, some mode may be adopted which will prevent the ruinous consequences that would ensue in case of detection.

In point of fact, as the Committee knew full well, the danger in conducting such an enterprise from Macao as base lay in the possibility that the minor Chinese officials exercising their functions in Macao might impose such heavy exactions on the clandestine traffic as to smother it; there was no probability that they would go out of their way to enforce the prohibition; but some public scandal might drive some small official to denounce the traffic as the means of saving himself from being denounced. Failing this, emigration might be expected to continue at Macao as the opium trade had continued.

APPENDIX P

Memorial on the Status of King's Ships

To Their Excellencies the Tsontoc and Hoppo of Canton.

Excellent Sirs,

In order that we may reply fully and distinctly to the Edict of your Excellency's of the 15th August, on the subject of the ships of War annually visiting this Country, it becomes necessary to repeat many of the observations which have formed parts of our numerous representations to your Excellency's, and your predecessors in Office a due consideration of which, will we trust induce your Excellency's especially since his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to sanction the possession of the customary anchorages for our Kings Ships, to concur in rendering their stay in China, both safe, and convenient as well as beneficial to the health of their Crews.

It has been observed, that the arrival of H.M. Ships exists only during a period of War, and solely in the view of affording protection to our valuable Trade with this Country, which must experience great decrease or be totally abandoned if deprived of this security, and which whilst supplying food to some millions of the Emperor's subjects tends also to diffuse wealth and happiness through several provinces, and occasioning a considerable augmentation of Duties to the Imperial Revenue, may not be deemed unworthy of your Excellency's attention. Moreover the wants of the ships are confined to Marine Stores for repairing the damages they usually sustain, and to fresh or salted Provisions, for the Crews, and as the Officers and men are strictly prohibited from Trading, no apprehensions need be entertained of any attempt to infringe the regulations, either by smuggling or legal purchases, and of course, no bad consequences insue, neither are any favors nor other indulgencies required than simple hospitality. It remains therefore to be determined how these objects, of security to the Merchant ships & the supply of the wants of the King's Ships can be best confirmed without occasioning disturbances or molestation to the subjects of His Imperial Majesty.

Were an opinion of the French Nation to be formed by the conduct and behaviour of its subjects whilst trading to this Country, the safety of property in a Chinese Port, might be in

little danger, but the character of that people, has undergone, so complete a change since the commencement of the Revolution, and the murder of their King and their view of aggrandizement, are so unbounded, that the Law of Nations and neutrality of Kingdoms in the closest alliance with them, have been altogether disregarded and were most unjustly violated. We must be blind to the evils that have resulted, and are likely to result to mankind, from the French revolution, and from the principles which have been disseminated, were we to conceal from your Excellency's that scarcely any Nation however powerful, and respectable has escaped the influence of the pernicious and destructive doctrines, nor are they less to be dreaded by those in perfect friendship with them—than by their Enemies; the former have been exposed to the grossest indignities and acts of oppression, even to the seizure of their very Dominions; and the latter to the Capture of their Ships and property in the ports of neutral and friendly powers.

To the knowledge of these circumstances and of the insidious designs meditated against the Colony of our Ally the Queen of Portugal, and our own Shipping, at Whampoa—it was owing that His Britannick Majesty detached His Ships of War, to this Country, during the last War, & similar reasons again operate to render this protection indispensable—We submit it therefore to the judgement and enlightened policy of your Excellencies, viewing the necessity of the measure, whether you will hazard endangering the existence of this valuable Commercial intercourse between our Nations by prohibitory regulations both in regard to the proper anchorages to ensure the requisite protection, and the withholding supplies from the only place (Whampoa) from whence they can be derived with safety and of suitable qualities.

With respect to the first, H.M. Officers can alone judge of the situation that will enable them to effect the purpose required and we do most solemnly assure your Excellencies, that no views of incroachments, nor attempts to transgress against the laws and Customs of this friendly and powerful Empire, can actuate them in this decision; the accomplishment of their Orders, by adhering to the indulgencies, customary among civilized Nations, will be their only arm; but we must be permitted to repeat, that indeed which has already, though we regret to observe ineffectually, been so frequently declared to your Excellency's that Naval Officers submit to no control nor receive Orders from others than their Sovereign, the Ministers of their Department, or their Superior Officers of the same profession; which circumstance added to their total independence of the Company's representatives, will account to you

for our inability to direct their actions during their stay in this Country; though as subjects of the same King and filling a public situation, it is our duty as well as our inclination to render them every respect Civility and assistance, and so long as they may remain on board their Ships and are prevented from visiting Canton, it will be extremely gratifying to us to be the medium of communication between your Excellencies and His Majesty's Officers. Your Excellencies however cannot be ignorant that Officers in the service of Princes when deputed to Foreign Stations are acknowledged and recognized as their representatives, and having duties to fulfill widely differing from those of Commercial Agents (however respected their situations) and merely requiring or demanding the Common acts of Hospitality, they are bound to demand and expect a respectful and attentive treatment.

Safety in the supply of provisions has been mentioned, & Whampoa specified from whence they are to be drawn, in consequence of the impediments to their being obtained from Macao; which City and the circumjacent place as well as the passage and Channel thence to the Bocca Tigris, being infested by numerous and formidable Pirate Vessels; effectually precludes any Compradore or Chinese from conveying provisions to H.M. Ships at Lintin or elsewhere in the dread of Capture by these Ladrones and the loss not only of property but of life. And we entreat your Excellency's not to consider these assertions as either absurd or unfounded, having daily experience under our own Eye during our residence in Macao, of the depredations and audacity of these freebooters—besides the supplies from Macao, were at no time either regular or abundant, whilst the prices were exorbitant being originally procured from Canton and Whampoa and thereby liable to increased Charges and Expenses.

The excessive demands likewise for fees, both by the mandarines of the district and those of the Revenue, enhances the price of provisions, which we are convinced it is neither the wish or intention of the Emperor nor your Excellency the Ships of our King should be effected by, or liable to, as being totally unconcerned in Trade, the bare supply of the necessaries of life, and of a few stores to repair their losses and damages, should not expose any person to charges who may undertake to provide them.

These sources of complaint would be totally avoided, or at least partially remedied by a general license for a Compradore, to supply the Ships from Whampoa or the adjacent villages under the sanction of His Excellency the Hoppo's general permit, by which he would be freed from the delays of office in

his diurnal visit to the Ships and from inspection by the Soldiery at the Bogue or other Forts, and the refusal of a proposition so moderate and just, we cannot suppose would be approved by His Imperial Majesty, whose benevolent and beneficial disposition has been so invariably manifested towards the English Nation—Ships of War are admitted to the Ports of every friendly Nation, and their wants in provisions and Stores of which they stand alone in need constantly furnished at the prices of the Country, without premium or charge whatsoever. The Emperor has been graciously pleased to confirm and direct the observance of this wise and equitable regulation, merely restricting the ships of War to their Customary Anchorages, for the purpose therefore of determining the Extent of this indulgence, it will be requisite to recapitulate the ships of War, which have visited China, and to state the anchorages which they have respectively occupied.

In the year 1743 Commodore Anson in a 50 Gun Ship came to Macao to repair damages sustained in the circumnavigation of the Globe but being prevented going into the Taypa by the shoalness of the Water, he proceeded to a Bay close to the Bocca Tigris, since known to Europeans by his name (Anson's Bay) where he remained several months and received every civility and supply from the Chinese Government.

In 1779 Captain Panton on the Sea Horse 20 Gun Ship, being the bearer of a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy of Canton from the English Admiral commanding in India, proceeded to Whampoa, was admitted to an audience of His Excellency and received an address in reply; in three months he quitted China, having experienced the civility and attention of this wise and enlightened Government. He returned the following year, and anchored His Ship at the 1st Bar, and again benefitted by Chinese Hospitality and Kindness.

Two French line of Battle Ships anchored at the 2nd Bar in 1785 from whence they sailed after refitting, and had all their wants abundantly supplied.

In 1791, Captain Blankett with a 50 and 32 Gun Ship arrived in China to convoy the Company's Ships in the apprehension of a Spanish War, and as they were prepared to join him, he anchored at Lintin & sent the Frigate to Anson's Bay, where she received provisions and the necessary supplies from Canton & Whampoa.

His Majesty's Ship Lion of 64 Guns proceeded in 1793 to Whampoa, & was treated with every imaginable respect and attention, and sailed in the beginning of 1794 having previously taken on board His Majesty's Ambassador Lord Macartney and his suite. Captain Cooke with a 64 & 2 Frigates arrived the end

of 1797 at Macao, from whence he again sailed immediately—giving convoy to a fleet of Merchant Ships, and returned in March 1798—the Ship of 64 Guns having in the mean while remained at Anchor in Anson's Bay for the protection of the Ships at Whampoa, and receiving regular supplies of every description. From that period to 1802 H.M. Ships have alternately occupied the anchorages of Anson's Bay, Lintin, & Samkoke, & occasionally the smaller ships that of the Taypa—as circumstances rendered expedient for the security of the trading ships and Macao, belonging to our Ally the Queen of Portugal—having in the year 1799, been attacked off Macao, by a Spanish Force consisting of 2 Ships of 80 Guns, 2 of 44 & 2 belonging to the French and the departure of our Merchant Ships in the summer of the same year was prevented by a Spanish Ship of 80 Guns, & one of 44, which were cruizing off the entrance of the River, in the absence of our Ships of War. At present Portugal being in a state of neutrality the protection of Macao is perhaps not so necessary—but whilst for the purpose of security to the possession of our Allies, His Majesty's Ships were exposed to imminent danger, by retaining unsafe Anchorages, as exemplified in the year 1802, when they were nearly lost during a tempest, is it equitable to require similar exposure when the cause that rendered it indispensable no longer exists. Supplies it is true, were then provided from Macao, but of inferior and bad kinds, but at that period the Pirates had never had the temerity to shew themselves in the vicinity of Macao & Lintin, as was the case in the preceding & present seasons—and tho' they were scanty and inferior, they were uninterrupted, and obtained without difficulty, and His Majesty's Officers as incumbent on them in the execution of their Duty submitted without complaint —The numbers and strength of the Pirates however, prevents at present any dependence being placed in benefitting even by similar supplies, and your Excellency's cannot assuredly design that H.M. Ships should be deprived of the rights of Hospitality.

Whilst offering these observations, we can safely assure your Excellency's that the rigid discipline invariably preserved on board ships of War, may remove every anxiety of disputes or misunderstandings with the Inhabitants of the districts where they are anchored, unless the Officers and Crews are exposed to taunting and abusive language—(to which the lower Classes are prone, as we have ourselves the frequent proof of both at Canton and Macao) to thefts and other insults—the surreptitious sale of Spirituous liquors to the crews, also, may from the consequent effects of inability lead to disturbances and ought to be strictly interdicted. In short, if strict orders are issued, and punctually executed to observe civility and decency, and a free intercourse

is permitted to the Fishermen and farmers for the sale of their Fish, fruit, Eggs and Greens, a firm reliance may be placed on no molestation to the Inhabitants or disturbances arising on the part of the King's Ships, every offender on both sides receiving the most exemplary punishment for any offence committed or transgression against the laws—but on the other hand if distrust and jealousy are evinced, and insolence attempted by the Soldiery in the Row Boats—that are at times surrounding the Ships, to dispose of their Fish to the Seamen or by the Inhabitants on Shore, when the Crews are getting their Water, neither ourselves nor the Officers of His Majesty's Ships can prevent disputes or be responsible for the consequences that may result from such reprehensible conduct.

It will be evident to your Excellencies from the foregoing statement how impossible it is for us to afford any information with respect to the situation which His Majesty's Officers may deem it expedient to occupy, nevertheless we trust that our endeavours will not fail in convincing you that no encroachment however trifling is designed should they even proceed into the River, tho' unless from circumstances at present unforeseen, as the object of Security will be better attained by anchoring at the Bogue, or in its vicinity we have no idea of any such intention on their part, and are indeed ourselves satisfied, it never will be attempted, if obstacles are not opposed to a regular and safe supply of provisions from Canton or Whampoa, and of Marine and other Stores indispensable for the use of the Ships —and neither being subjected to duties or other fees to which Ships of War cannot submit.

Of our own obedience and attention, respect and attachment to the people and Laws of China, repeated and incessant proofs have been given, which it will be satisfactory to perceive may have at length operated in preventing our observance of them being enjoined by harsh expressions and menaces of incurring the Emperor's displeasure in the manner we experienced the preceding season from His Excellency the Hoppo.

Without any intention of avoiding responsibility or attaching it to His Majesty's Officers who have less communication or need of the protection of the Government, we must reiterate the unqualified declaration of total inability on our part to control persons in the dignified situations they hold, and who are in the most trifling instances altogether independent of the Company's representatives though we shall ever derive pleasure in aiding in the interpretation of the mutual sentiments and opinions of your Excellencies, and their Officers—or to their introduction to your presence should personal communications be requisite.

We have been the more particular in detailing circumstances

relative to English Ships of War visiting this Country in the view of the prevention of their future proceedings being considered as an infraction of positive Laws or an encroachment on the Customs and existing regulations established either by usage and precedent, or by His Imperial Majesty—and have the honor to subscribe ourselves with the highest consideration & respect,

Your Excellencies

Most obedient & very humble Servants

Signed Jas. Drummond
Thos. Chas. Pattle
J. W. Roberts.

Macao
1st September 1805.

LXII

THE NEPTUNE AFFAIR: SEASON 1806–1807

For the season 1806 the Select Committee consisted of Messrs. Drummond, Pattle, and Roberts, until January 3, 1807, when Mr. Drummond went home; and from that date it consisted of Mr. John William Roberts (President), Mr. Pattle, and Mr. William Bramston. The books were opened on March 29th with the following balances:

	Tls.
Cr. by silver in treasury	7,200
Tea in stock, 20,277 piculs	448,239
Owing by Chinese merchants	1,445,964
Factory account	28,056
Credit Balance	1,929,459

The Company in this season loaded 19 ships of 21,417 tons for London. Their import cargoes on Company's account realized from English products Tls. 3,417,902, viz. from woollens Tls. 3,215,678, from lead (invoiced cost f.o.b. £44,989) Tls. 108,057, from tin (invoiced cost f.o.b. £30,938) Tls. 94,167; from Indian produce Tls. 620,668, viz. cotton Tls. 412,971, sandalwood Tls. 93,289, pepper 87,198, spices Tls. 27,210; total for imports Tls. 4,038,570. The account for the woollens was as follows:

		Tls.
Broadcloth, 9,560 pieces—335,418 yards, realized		650,096
Long Ells, 252,350 pieces	,,	1,892,621
Superior Long Ells 8,040 pieces	,,	76,380
Embossed Long Ells, 600 pieces	,,	6,600
Camlets, 22,000 pieces	,,	546,709
Templars, 440 pieces	,,	4,752
Worleys, 2,140 pieces	,,	38,520
Total, invoiced prime cost £1,149,020,	,,	3,215,678

showing a loss of nearly 7 per cent. on prime cost, without any allowance for freight, insurance, commission, or interest. The direct ships had on board, consigned to Canton, silver to the amount of 505,298 dollars; but the whole was taken out at Penang and sent to Calcutta by direct order of the Governor-

General. During the season there were received into the Treasury 2,948,013 dollars for bills on London at 5*s.* 6*d.* and 365 days; 860,000 dollars for bills on Bengal at 43 and equally 30, 45 and 60 days; 243,460 dollars for certificates; 68,199 dollars from freight; a total of 4,119,672 dollars = Tls.2,966,164. There is no record of any transfers in favour of Chinese merchants. The investment by the 19 ships was invoiced at Tls. 5,473,406. The comprador's account was abstracted as follows:

	Tls.
Charges Extraordinary	27,233
Charges on Merchandise	10,681
House rent, repairs and furniture	13,862
House Expenses	19,257
	71,033

The trade particulars were as follows:

		Ships.		*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Nankeens.*
		No.	Tons.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company	19	21,417	92,986	183,364	671	210,000
	Country	60	32,877	261,883	4,019	685	50,000
American		38	11,327	..	65,779	4	525,000
Danish		2	1,200	..	8,209	..	75,000
		119	66,821	354,779	261,371	1,360	860,000

Of the country ships 30 brought rice from Bengal to a total of 270,000 piculs, in addition to 38,000 piculs by Company's ships; the country ships bringing rice were not required to take away an export cargo. Of the American ships 24 are reported to have brought in specie 2,650,000 dollars. On August 18th 'arrived the American ship *Trident*[1] 120 days from New York'—a very quick passage. Of ginseng American ships brought 1,344 piculs, English none. American ships brought 171,500 sealskins, 36,660 other fine furs, 1,514 rabbit skins; English ships 14,940 sealskins, 8,043 other fine furs, and 54,000 rabbit skins. Two American ships from New York and one from Providence brought 1,030 piculs of salt fish. The cotton imported as above realized over Tls. 5,000,000 delivered at the ship's side, duty to be paid by purchaser.

[1] The American ship *Trident*, with Robert Morrison passenger, again arrived from New York on Sept. 7, 1807; a round trip in 385 days from arrival to arrival.

The Court on consideration of the trade of 1804 were much concerned at the increase of the 'neutral' trade with China; but the Select Committee, in their report of January 4, 1807, were reassuring, since at that date

only one Danish Company's Ship has hitherto imported, no Swedish Ships, and considerably less than the usual number of Americans, of which, tho' some have arrived immediately from Europe, not any, as far as we can understand, are bound on their return voyage to any port of Great Britain or of the Continent.

At the date of writing 30 of the American ships had arrived. Of the two Danish ships one was wrecked on the passage from Canton to Manila.

The claim on the merchants for rubbish teas, plundering, and quality inferior to muster, amounted for this season to Tls. 27,275 only, of which nearly half was covered by a claim against Gnewqua of Tls. 13,199 for inferiority to muster. The total claim was so low only because the Committee found it necessary to reduce by a half the claim for plundering, before the merchants would agree to accept the terms.

The Court were always desirous that their commanders should benefit from their privileged tonnage, and jealous of any transaction which should curtail the privilege. On February 24, 1806, they wrote the following to the Governor of Bombay:

Having reason to believe that Captain Bond the late Commander of the *Walmer Castle* has reserved to himself an interest in the profits resulting to the Commander during the ensuing voyage of that ship from Bombay to China, in order to mark our displeasure at such conduct, we have resolved that the Commander of that Ship shall be deprived of the usual Privilege of carrying freight from Bombay to China, on his own account, and that such Tonnage be for the benefit of the Company.

The Court could generally be more generous in allowing privilege from Bombay to Canton, more even than from London to Canton; but even from Canton to London the amount of private trade was considerable; in the season 1805 in a total of 23¾ million lb. of tea the private trade was 1¼ million lb., and in 1806 in a total of 28 million lb. it was 1¾ million lb.

The prohibition of traders remaining over from season to season was maintained, except in the case of those British

subjects who held a Prussian or a Danish commission; and the prohibition extended to Indians as well, permission being this year refused to Sadodeen Shaik Ally Coor.

The gardener and botanist, Mr. Kerr, however, prolonged his stay in China, and continued to send home annually a collection of plants for the Royal Gardens at Kew, and of drawings and specimens for Sir Joseph Banks.

The Italian missionary who had been sent back in custody to Canton in the previous year[1] was dealt with by an imperial decree received on March 31, 1806:

> he is condemned to a close imprisonment at Canton for three years, and it is considered hardly possible for the unfortunate prisoner to survive so long and severe a confinement.

The punishment seems unduly severe, considering the character of Chinese prisons, for so slight an offence.

A letter accompanied by presents from the Emperor, in reply to the King's letter of the previous season, was received in Canton immediately after the departure of the factory to Macao; and, on April 10, 1806, the three senior Hong Merchants arrived with a mandate from the Viceroy, Governor, and Hoppo, addressed to the Chief of the English factory, bidding him return to Canton to receive the imperial missive. Though flattered by receiving a mandate addressed to himself in person, Mr. Drummond refused to go back to Canton; but he allowed Mr. Roberts, accompanied by Sir G. Staunton, to return and represent him, stipulating however for a fitting ceremonial. He was later informed by Mr. Roberts that

> the Letter and presents destined by the Emperor for His Britannic Majesty were personally delivered to him by the Viceroy on the 19th instant and that the interview was conducted throughout in a manner, sufficiently honorable and suitable to the occasion. . . . It had been previously ascertained that the Mandarines were to deliver the Imperial Letter standing, and that on receiving it no more would be required from Mr. Roberts than an obeisance conformably to the usages of Europe.

A translation of the Emperor's letter, paternal in its tone, will be found in Appendix Q.

England was officially at war with Spain, but at this period

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 16.

the English supercargoes continued to maintain friendly relations with their Spanish colleagues. In November, 1806, the Spanish Chief, Señor Mayo, asked the English Committee for a loan of 150,000 dollars, interest at 10 per cent., to be repaid within a year. In considering the application the Committee thought that they

would scarcely hesitate to recognize the general principle of the propriety and advantage of Foreign Companies trading to this Country, mutually accommodating each other in cases of temporary exigency or embarrassment.... The question for their consideration was whether the circumstance of a War having broken out between their respective nations, since the last loan had been effected, made so material an alteration in the relative situation of the Agencies of the two Companies in China as to prohibit the repetition of the accommodation.

There was, perhaps, in the minds of the English supercargoes a feeling that Spain was but a lukewarm enemy and that the loan was not likely to be used to injure British interests; and the Committee consented to lend the money.[1] Three months later, on February 20, 1807, the Spanish supercargoes had occasion to complain that riotous English sailors had torn down the Spanish flag flying before their factory and had destroyed it. The English Committee promptly offered an apology and reparation for the insult, which the Spanish supercargoes readily accepted.

Mr. Drummond left Canton on January 4th in the first fleet, and on his departure

conformably with the orders of the H'ble the Court of Directors the management of the Company's concerns in China devolved on Messrs. Roberts and Pattle, President &c. Select Committee.

At the same time, to complete the tale of three, Mr. Bramston was co-opted to the vacant place. On January 15th Mr. Plowden arrived by the *Neptune*, one of the direct ships; this was William Henry Chichely Plowden, President of the Select Committee in the last year of the Company's charter, who thus makes his first appearance as a writer joining the Canton factory. The solicitude of the Court for the moral and spiritual welfare of their agents in China is manifested in the following minute:

Jan. 16. An Extract of the 16 & 17 paragraph of the Hon'ble Court's

[1] The navy held different views; cf. *postea*, p. 34.

orders & instructions of the 9th of April 1806, was this day sent round to the members of the factory and accompanied by the following intimation from the President.—Mr. Roberts begs to acquaint the Gentlemen of the factory that in compliance with the above orders, Divine Service will be performed the next and every Sunday following in the Company's hall at eleven O'clock in the forenoon when their presence will be required in obedience to the orders of the H'ble the Court of Directors.

This maintenance of the spiritual side of the minds of the supercargoes was the more necessary, inasmuch as they were surrounded by an atmosphere of the material in life; and, though the Hong Merchants had a high standard of commercial honour, they still were full of chicane and falsity, as is recorded in this season's record in connexion with the trouble over rice importations:

that the Chinese will assert falsehoods the most gross, and even perjure themselves when their own interests are at stake, or their pockets are likely to be affected, we have too frequent evidence of, to doubt, but that he [Puankhequa] should think of removing his responsibility by such means, when the application was made publicly to the Chief, and repeated to a Member of the Committee, affords an instance of prevarication and temerity without example, and which we trust we shall never again have occasion to record.

This difference of mental outlook made the question of interpreting one of great importance. Not only was the pidgin English of the merchants and linguists of the most elementary character, but their interests were not identical with those of the Company, and they were too timid to be trusted to interpret exactly any phrases which might be unpleasing to the ears of the officials. This made the presence of Sir G. T. Staunton and the help of his knowledge of Chinese the more welcome. Entries such as the following are frequent:

The observations of the Hoppo were briefly explained by the Merchants, but we shall decline any comments upon them until we have before us the translation of this document which Sir Geo. Staunton will be requested to prepare for the information of the Board.

The post of linguist attached to one of the foreign factories was lucrative in ways that will be understood by one who knows Oriental conditions; so much so that

Lyqua one of the new Merchants might not improbably be joined by

Goqua the present Head Linguist, who was desirous of retiring from that situation in which he had long proved himself a diligent and faithful servant to the Company and to the public, in order to transact the business of Hong Merchant.

The pirates were very active, but, during the summer of 1806, they were less in evidence in the immediate vicinity of Macao; once indeed in August, at Hailinshan, near Tinpak, seven Ladrone boats threatened an attack on the *Antelope*, while engaged in surveying; and in the following March it is stated that 'many Ladrones are constantly cruizing between Macao and Chuenpee'.

One peculiarly audacious attack on Macao itself is recorded on February 14, 1807:

Intelligence has been received from Macao of an unusual instance of the audacity of the Ladrones in that neighbourhood, a party of the pirates having landed from their boats late in the evening, apparently with the intention of surprising the Guia, a Portuguese Fort on an eminence at a small distance from the town, but they were fortunately observed by the Centinel on guard, and after a few vollies of Musquetry were fired, and had wounded some of them, they hastily retreated and have not since repeated the desperate attempt.

On December 7th, 1806, Mr. F. Turner, chief officer of the country ship *Tay*, while going in a boat to Macao to procure a pilot, was captured by the pirates, together with his boat's crew of five lascars. At first 3,000 dollars were demanded as ransom, then 10,000, then (January 14th) 30,000. Negotiations for his rescue were continued month by month; on April 16th the Ladrones intimated that they would be content with 3,000 dollars. He and his boat's crew were released in May, 1807, on payment of a ransom of 6,000 dollars.

The Committee had some time previously stated that they ought to have a tender attached to the factory for the purpose of checking piracy, assisting their ships when in distress, and, between times, surveying and charting the China Sea and the approaches to Canton. The Court approved of this proposal, and the brig *Antelope* was fitted out in Bombay as a cruiser suitable for the purpose, and arrived at Macao on May 5, 1806, under the command of Lieut. Daniel Ross. The Portuguese authorities began at once to make trouble. The Governor was amenable; but the Dezembargador and the Senate affected to

believe that some deep-laid scheme of the perfidious English was concealed in the declared purpose of the cruiser, and persistently refused to allow the ship to have the facilities of the port. They even instilled their suspicion into the minds of the Chinese authorities at Canton, who made most particular inquiries as to the purpose of her arrival, but were satisfied with the explanation given. In September the Portuguese authorities definitely ordered the *Antelope* out of the Taipa anchorage, as she had before been ordered out of Macao harbour. Soon after the English Committee wished to buy a small Portuguese ship to serve as tender to the *Antelope*, but the Senate refused to sanction the change of flag, notwithstanding that the Governor was entirely favourable to the English demand. The *Antelope*, though denied admission to the port, continued her activities, and on October 20th it was recorded that

> a large fleet of Ladrone Boats passed thro' the [Macao] Roads this morning but on receiving a few Shots from the *Antelope* they stood off with all speed to the Eastward.

In November the Committee bought for 24,000 dollars a small English country ship at Whampoa to serve as tender; and the two ships, the *Antelope* and the *Prime*, continued to work together during the season.

During the war, at this stage at least, the fleets of Indiamen were usually convoyed from point to point. In the previous season, May, 1805, Admiral Rainier had been replaced by Sir Edward Pellew as Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces east of the Cape of Good Hope; from August, 1805, Sir Thomas Troubridge was in command of all operations east of Ceylon until the winter 1806–7, when he vacated the command and Sir E. Pellew resumed control of all operations in the Eastern seas. Sometimes the Indiamen suffered from too much attention, especially from the impressment which was then the only means of keeping the navy manned in full force. Thus, for example, the *Perseverance*, chartered 1,200 tons and presumably with a crew of little, if any, over 150 sailors, possibly only 120, arrived on February 5, 1807, and reported that she left Penang on December 7 under convoy of H.M. frigate *Caroline*, which parted company on January 5th in the Gilolo Passage 'for the prosecution of his intended cruise off Manilla'; on leaving the

Straits of Malacca she had fallen in with Sir E. Pellew, who had sent by her dispatches for Canton; seven days after leaving the *Caroline* saw three ships topsails down, which could only have been enemy ships; and the commander closes with the complaint:

My Ship's company has been weakened to a very great degree by having no less than 41 of my best Seamen impressed by H.M. Ship *Blenheim*, Sir Thomas Troubridge, and we have since we left Penang lost 6 of our men from sickness, and have now no less than 34 men in the sick report with Dysentery and Scurvy.

Captain Wood in H.M. frigate *Phaeton* arrived on August 7, 1806, convoying ten country ships from Bombay, and informed the Committee of his intention to take up again the discussion on the prize brig, in conformity with his instructions from Sir E. Pellew.

He was assured of the active concurrence and assistance of the Committee as far as such interference was likely to prove beneficial, and not inconsistent with other prudential considerations.

Before launching his attack, however, Captain Wood went for a cruise in the *Phaeton*, from which he returned to Macao on September 3rd,

accompanied by a Spanish Prize, the *Prince Fernandez* merchantman the property of the Philippine Company, laden at Manilla with China and Bengal Goods for the market of Lima, and captured by H.M. Ship on the 31st ultimo on the Coast of Luconia [Luzon]. The Cargo of the *Prince Fernandez* has been estimated at upwards of 400,000 Dollars.

Three days later the three senior Hong Merchants, Puankhequa, Mowqua, and Howqua, arrived in Macao to deliver to Captain Wood a message from the Viceroy to the effect that he wished to anticipate any application to him; that the investigation into the pillaging of the prize brig would be actively pursued, but he wished to caution Captain Wood against bringing his ship up to Whampoa; that the Viceroy would, however, receive any letter delivered to the merchants at Macao, or would even grant a private audience to Captain Wood. This message was delivered by the three merchants, accompanied by 'an Officer of Rank, the Kiun Ming Foo or Governor of Casa Branca', who added, as from the Viceroy, that

taking his Ship up to Whampoa was a measure which was totally

inadmissible, being a direct violation of the express order of His Imperial Majesty.

Mention is made above of Howqua as the third of the three senior merchants; but the third merchant is Puiqua. Now Howqua [1] first appears as a Hong Merchant in 1784, after having tried to evade the honour, and he absconded a bankrupt in the spring of 1789; Puiqua first appears as a Security Merchant in 1793, his first ship being the *Hindostan*,[2] and has in later years taken a large share in the Company's transactions. During this season one who is evidently the same man, while being ordinarily referred to as Puiqua, is called Howqua on not less than eight different occasions; but the references to Puiqua are in connexion with tea contracts or deliveries, and those to Howqua are for diplomatic work, when his name is coupled with Puankhequa and Mowqua, or with Mowqua alone. On one occasion he is called Howqua when he and Mowqua jointly guarantee an advance of 200,000 dollars to Ponqua, and Puiqua when the money is paid by the Committee to Ponqua. These facts are worth noting, since Howqua became an important factor in the commercial world of Canton.

Captain Wood persisted in making a personal appeal to the Viceroy, and an officer deputed by that high official met the captain at the English factory, the Committee being present at the interview

in order to testify their desire to support his application as well as their concurrence in his sentiments on the subject.

The Viceroy's deputy was apparently ready to promise almost anything on almost every subject, provided only that the ships of war would remain outside the river and not come near the Bogue forts.

The Mandarin proceeded to explain that Foreign Ships of War could on no account proceed to Whampoa, being prohibited from entering the River by an invariable rule, which had been recently and expressly confirmed by an Edict of His Imperial Majesty . . . that the Anchorage of Foreign Vessels of War should be confined within its ancient limits, but that those limits were well known and did not extend beyond the vicinage of Lintin and Macao.

Captain Wood (September 9th) presented a further memorial

[1] Cf. vol. ii, pp. 89, 118, 153.

[2] Cf. vol. ii, p. 197.

urging his claims for the pillaging of the prize, and representing the hardship to his crew if they were not allowed to enter a port for health and refreshment. The Viceroy's reply (September 24th) was a polite negative on all points in dispute, but its effect was mitigated by a mandate from the Hoppo ordering that supplies be sent to the ships of war. On the 29th 'H.M.S. *Phaeton* sailed from the (Macao) Roads and proceeded to the Bay of Chunpee near the Bogue'. Thereafter Captain Wood went cruising from time to time, his place at Chuenpi being taken by Captain Ratsay in the *Sir Edward Hughes*, who kept the prize brig to the fore by an occasional reminder, as did Captain Wood also; to these inquiries the Viceroy invariably sent a very polite message that all was being done that could be done. In their mid-season report of January 4th, sent by the fleet which sailed under convoy of the two King's ships, the Committee informed the Court that,

altho' the justice and propriety of admitting our claims in behalf of His Majesty's Ships frequenting China have not been made, nor perhaps will ever be officially recognised by the Mandarins, we have had the pleasure to observe that their opposition has become gradually less active and decided, and that our representations and those of His Majesty's Officers, urged on favorable occasions, and maintained with some degree of firmness and perseverance, have been so far successful that the anchorage of H.M.'s Ships at Chunpee near the Bocca Tigris, is at present tacitly acquiesced in, and the regular transmission to them of supplies from Whampoa while on that Station openly permitted by the Chinese Government.

The fleet of direct ships which arrived in January was convoyed by H.M.S. *Lion*, Captain Robert Rolles. In March, while the acrimonious dispute over the *Neptune* was at its height, he wished to have a personal audience of the Viceroy in order to explain several outstanding matters, but was refused. He then prepared a letter, and on March 8th

finding every other mode ineffectual Cap. Rolles determined to send one of his officers to the City Gate to demand an audience of the Viceroy and as some person from the Factory might be required to explain the jargon [pidgin English] of any Interpreter he might meet with Mr. Fraser was requested and readily consented to attend. They first proceeded to the Custom House on the River, but finding no persons there willing to speak to them, much more receive the letter, they went immediately to the City Gate, where they were immediately stopped

by the Chinese Soldiers on Guard. A Mandarin soon arrived and treated them with civility; shortly after another of superior Rank came to them who tho' he declined receiving the letter Capt. Rolles had sent, promised to acquaint the Viceroy with his wishes and to give an answer the ensuing Morning.

The answer was in the negative; and the *Neptune* affair even then overshadowed everything else, so that the question of the treatment of King's ships retired into the background.

On March 25, 1806, only five days before the dispatch of the last ships of the season 1805, Puankhequa came to inform the President that both the Viceroy and the Hoppo were much concerned at the high price of rice, from 4 to 5 dollars a picul of 100 catties, which was likely to go higher, and were apprehensive lest food riots might lead to serious disturbances, which might work in with the rebellion in Formosa and the progress made by the Ladrones the whole length of the coast—the rebellion diminishing the supplies of rice available, and the piracy obstructing their conveyance. The officials were then desirous of learning if rice could not be imported from India. Mr. Drummond suggested that the high officials should address in writing to the Governor-General or to the Committee a request that assistance should be afforded; and, when Puankhequa decisively rejected this suggestion, it was arranged that the Hoppo should waive all claim for port charges on ships bringing rice up to the end of the ninth moon, which was early in November. With this exemption it was thought that upwards of thirty ships might be induced to come by the prospect of profit, and that they might bring 200,000 bags at a cost laid down in Canton of about 4 dollars a bag of 164 lb., or approximately $3\frac{1}{4}$ dollars a picul. Puankhequa professed to be much pleased with this, and asked Mr. Drummond to notify to the ports in India the need which existed and the inducement for supplying it; he also stated that he, Mowqua, Puiqua, and Conseequa were each subscribing 25,000 dollars for the purpose of buying rice in India, since in case of trouble in Canton contributions much greater in amount would be levied on them; and this credit was placed at the disposal of Captain C. C. McIntosh, who had been engaged in the country trade and was trusted by them.

Mr. Drummond had every wish to place the Chinese authorities

and merchants under obligations to the Company, and he sent urgent appeals to the three Presidencies; these were notified by public advertisement, and the response was immediate, and in all a total of over 300,000 piculs (20,000 tons) was that season imported from Indian ports. The ships began to arrive in September, but by that time the price of rice on the Canton market had fallen to a rate far below the cost to the importers of the imported rice. The importers then invoked the aid of the Committee to obtain from the merchants, not profit, but freedom from loss, declaring that they had made their shipments on the strength of, first, the strong appeal of the Committee made through the Governor-General and Governors in India; secondly, the implied appeal contained in the Hoppo's proclamation exempting rice ships from all port charges; thirdly, the representations of stringency and incitements to importation made by a merchant of such standing as Puankhequa. After some rather animated discussion the merchants generally, more particularly Mowqua and Howqua, accepted the proposal of the importers that the rice be bought at the flat rate of 4 dollars a bag ex ship; but to this, from the very beginning to the very end, Puankhequa made the 'most inveterate opposition'.

Puankhequa was in fact not easy in the precarious position of senior Hong Merchant. He had been a Hong Merchant since his father's death in January, 1788, and had been senior since the death of Munqua in April, 1796, but had latterly expressed his desire to retire as Yanqua had done. On March 31, 1806, the Committee record:

> Upon closing his transactions with the Company this Season Puankhequa has again drawn the attention of the Committee to the desire he has long entertained of retiring on account of ill health and disengaging himself entirely from business. . . . He has frequently avowed that he had such a plan in contemplation, but even if he still entertains the design, it appears almost impracticable for him to succeed in it—at least it is by no means probable that he is willing or prepared to make the Sacrifices which under the oppressive and rapacious system of the Government, would be required to enable him to carry that project into effect.

In November, while making his 'inveterate opposition' to the settlement of the rice difficulty, he was called to a conference with the Hoppo, but

pleading indisposition, has not yet chosen to attend the Hoppo's summons. Notwithstanding this information, we are too well acquainted with the ability to make presents, together with the general influence Puankhequa derives from his wealth and station, to expect that any severity will ultimately be exercised towards him in favour of Europeans, or to be much surprised if he was to obtain the indirect protection and connivance of Government even in an act of obvious injustice.

To secure this protection and immunity the only method was to pay, pay, pay; and this is expressed by the Committee in December:

To preserve this ascendency over his colleagues, he has naturally had recourse to the indispensable measure of securing by great presents the favor and acquiescence of the Mandarines, who, in their turn, expect similar contributions from the other Merchants, and which the latter cannot decline without exposing themselves to innumerable vexations, especially when opportunities of oppression occur, and they find themselves involved in difficulties, through any trifling or pretended deviation from the rigid Laws and regulations of this Country, and for which they are certainly liable to be made answerable without even their knowledge of or concurrence in the imputed offence, through the thoughtlessness or wickedness of the numerous Europeans belonging to the Ships, for which they are Securities,—and thus in spite of every precaution the seizure of their persons and stoppage of their Trade, or the timely satisfaction of the demands of the Mandarines, is generally their only alternative. These gratuities are now established customs to the extent of 3 or 4/M Dollars annually . . . the article of Tea alone, which the Merchants declare cannot be shipped under a charge of less than 4 or 5 Tales, altho' the real duty to the Emperor inclusive of every legalised expence does not exceed 1 Tale per pecul.

This statement was almost prophetic of events which were only three months in the future, when Mowqua became involved in the manner indicated. With Puankhequa the Committee were much dissatisfied, and to mark their displeasure at his 'disrespectful and hostile behaviour', they cut his share in the woollens down from four to three seventeenths. In January, in order to carry out his intention of retiring, he asked the Committee to buy additional 400 chests of Bohea, and in February 3,000 chests of Congou and 400 chests of Souchong; in April he obtained the further favour of having these teas paid for as shipments of the current season, instead of the winter contract prices of stock for the next season.

Mowqua at the close of the season 1804 had expressed his

intention of retiring, his business engagements being taken on by his brother-in-law Chunqua ;[1] but Chunqua died suddenly on December 18, 1806, causing Mowqua to abandon temporarily his intention. He returned to it, however, in April in consequence of his experiences in the interval.

On November 29, 1806, Anthony Defado stabbed Edward Burns, both being sailors of the Company's ship *Alnwick Castle* and then up in Canton on liberty. Burns died the next day, whereupon Defado was placed in close confinement by his own captain. The Committee record their opinion that

> in other Countries it might not be considered altogether warrantable to withdraw the Criminal from the Justice of the Country in which the offence is perpetrated, but as the Chinese have fortunately not shewn any disposition to interfere in the present instance, we are of opinion that it would be in the utmost degree injudicious and improper to appeal to that Government or to invite its interference, by which measure a most dangerous precedent might be established, and the right of the Chinese admitted to impose their Laws upon strangers, which are not only very arbitrary and corruptly administered, but founded on a system in many respects incompatible with European ideas of Equity or Justice.

The Committee therefore approved the commander's action, the prisoner ' to be delivered up at the first place where he can be tried ', which would probably be in England. As no Chinese life or other Chinese interest was involved, the authorities did not intervene.

On February 24, 1807, there was a serious disturbance at Canton, between local Chinese and liberty men from the *Neptune*, as the result of which a Chinese was said to have lost his life. Sailors from the *Marquis of Ely* had the day before been enticed into boats, robbed of their belongings, and flung stripped into the river or on shore, probably stupified with drink ; some were rescued from the river by the purser with difficulty ; one had disappeared and was not seen again. The liberty men from all the ships were the next day in an angry mood ; and those from the *Neptune* were engaged in several affrays with the townspeople, the sailors rushing out with cudgels, the townsmen driving them back with volleys of stones and bricks ; late in the evening a shed on the quay used as a Customs station was set

[1] This was not Chunqua (Mr. Chun), the Hong Merchant.

on fire, and the next morning (25th) it was found that a Customs officer had been wounded. Mowqua, Security Merchant for the *Neptune*, intervened promptly and thought that he might reasonably hope that

> the latter circumstance would not be attended with any bad consequences as on promising the Custom house Officer a present and to defray the expences of his cure he had promised silence.

All that day there were crowds of angry Chinese thronging the quay, but the Customs officer had made so favourable a report that the burning of the Customs station was condoned. Then early on the 27th Captain Buchanan of the *Neptune* called on Mr. Roberts, the President, and

> communicated the disagreeable intelligence of a Chinese having died in consequence of the wounds received in the Affray with the people of the *Neptune* and others on the 24 and 25, supposed to be the man who remained nearly the whole of Wednesday [24th] on the Quay severely wounded. . . . Mowqua appeared much agitated and expressed his fears that the matter had proceeded to too great lengths to be settled by any application of money, though the Venality of the Officers of Government is too well known not to leave some room to hope.

For two days (27th and 28th) the matter was debated—the authorities demanding the surrender of the person guilty of striking the blow which caused the death; the Committee representing that there was a confused medley of affrays, in which many were engaged on both sides, and that it was impossible to indicate one as being more guilty than another. It was, however, evident that the Committee must make an appearance of activity and that some investigation was imperative; but Mowqua was informed that if the *Neptune's* sailors were brought up to Canton, their trial must take place in the Company's factory, and none of the accused could be removed unless he were first clearly proved to be guilty; and

> he must also be aware if they were attempted to be seized by force more serious consequences would ensue as it was a measure that on no account would be submitted to.

Meantime (28th) the Committee commissioned three of their commanders, one of them being Captain Buchanan of the *Neptune*, to examine the sailors of the *Neptune*, and, if they were unable to discover the one guilty of the homicide, at least

to indicate those who were concerned in the affray. At the same time the authorities began their examination, in the city, of the Chinese connected, as linguists, servants, &c., with the ship; and the Hoppo issued orders, one stopping all shipments by the Company's ships, another forbidding sailors to come up to Canton. The next day (March 1st) the Namhoi Hien issued a warrant requiring the Security Merchant and the Chief of the English Nation to produce the guilty man for trial. On the evening of the 2nd

Mowqua's Purser waited on Mr. Roberts to acquaint him his Master was detained at the Namhoyen's who refused his release till the Europeans were produced for examination.

His son reported (3rd) that, though roughly treated, he was still a prisoner at large; and a colleague suggested that the Namhoi Hien must have been prompted by some higher official to take such decided action.

February 24th was the 18th day of the moon, and the eight Indiamen of the second fleet had already on the spring tides dropped down river to complete their lading below the Second Bar, and in consequence communication with them was slow; but on the evening of March 3rd the Committee received the report of the Captain's examination, the net result of which was that

the Evidence did not appear sufficiently conclusive to fix so serious a crime as Murder on any Individual.

Seven sailors of the *Neptune* were, however, named as having been ' most active in the riots '. The merchants being summoned to a conference, assured the Committee that

from this deplorable situation nothing would relieve Mowqua but delivering up the Man who had struck the unfortunate blow, or bringing up for examination the total number of men that were on that day in Canton;

and they further stated that Mowqua was now very harshly treated, and

that unless the Man or Men were delivered up for examination they were apprehensive he would tomorrow be carried to the Viceroy's palace where there was every reason to suppose that corporal punishment would be inflicted—

in other words, torture. The next day (4th) Mowqua accom-

panied two mandarins to have an interview with the Committee at the Consoo House; but in the course of a long conversation no ground could be found common to the two parties. One statement of some importance was made by the Committee—that on February 24th

there were several other English and American Seamen on the Quay at the time who more or less participated in the Affair.

So matters drifted on for yet another month. On the 11th there was an ominous hint that Captain Buchanan might be arrested and held as security for the production of the criminal. On the 14th the President declared that

the Mandarins might be assured he would never be the means of exposing any number of unconvicted British Subjects, to so dreadful a Trial or to any Chinese form of trial whatever, except such as the Mandarins might think proper to carry into execution within the European Factories, and if they intended a Chinese trial they must have recourse to Absolute force.

Mowqua was again a prisoner at large, but evidently experiencing much moral and financial pressure, so great that on March 16th he published the offer of a reward of 20,000 dollars to any person who could produce sufficient proof to convict the perpetrator of the murder. It may be here stated that the reward was not claimed; but Mowqua was so confident of the result that he signed an undertaking to produce the murderer within ten days. On the 21st the Anchasze, or Provincial Judge, entered the field with a mandate ordering the Security Merchant and the foreign Chief to deliver up immediately the body of the foreign culprit who had struck the blow which had caused the death of Leau A-ting. On the 22nd the Committee addressed a memorial to the Hoppo begging that shipments might be resumed, the Chinese having already offered to permit them by all except the *Neptune*, if the Committee would give an undertaking that the *Neptune* would not sail until the culprit had been discovered. During the next few days there were several interviews with the Künming Fu and another official representing the Hoppo, the two coming for that purpose to the Company's factory; and, as a result, on March 28th orders were sent to Captain Buchanan to bring up the fifty-two sailors from his ship who were on liberty at Canton on February 24th,

that they might be examined by the Chinese magistrates in the Company's factory. The men arrived in Canton in the evening of the 29th. On the 31st all preparations were made for the trial in the lower part of the old Company's factory; but at a late hour the officials sent word that, owing to the difficulty of interpreting, it would be more convenient if the President examined his own men, and, having discovered the culprit, should then send him on to the magistrate for his trial. Then for some days there were interviews at the Consoo House with the Kwangchow Fu, who intervened for the first time, and other officials accompanying him; and finally, on April 8th, the first trial of the 52 sailors was held in the old factory. The examining officials were seven in number, and they sat at tables at the head of the hall; on the Chinese superior side, the left of the officials, sat four Hong Merchants without tables; on the Chinese inferior side sat without tables Captain Rolles, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Pattle, Mr. Bramston, and Sir G. T. Staunton. Two marines in red uniform with fixed bayonets were on guard to preserve order. The 52 sailors were admitted in batches of five and questioned by the Kwangchow Fu, who must have felt the deepest regret that he was debarred from using the customary Chinese methods of compelling evidence. The testimony of the 52 sailors was of a uniform character—they all denied having struck any Chinese; they nearly all denied having a stick, but some admitted having had a light rattan; they all denied having rushed out to the fray; most of them declared that they were drunk during the affray, some dead drunk, but a few that they were almost sober.

The next day only three officials appeared, the two Prefects and two magistrates being absent, and the Künming Fu presiding. He called before him eleven sailors who had the day before been indicated by Captain Buchanan as being at all times the most turbulent of his men. These were questioned very closely; but only the evidence of Edward Sheen need be given:

Q. How many Chinese did you strike?

A. I struck none.

Q. Where is the stick you had?

A. I had only a tobacco pipe.

Q. Did any Chinamen strike you?

A. Yes, a man hit me with a stone.

Q. Where were you at that time?

A. As far as I can recollect about 3 or 4 yards outside the factory.

Q. Did you see Julius Caesar strike a Chinese?

A. No, I did not see any one strike a Chinese.

Q. Then it must have been you that struck the deceased?

A. No, it was not me.

Q. Julius Caesar says it was you?

A. It was not. I struck no Chinaman; he cannot say it, I defy him.

Captain Rolles then intervened, declaring that Julius Caesar had made no such remark; to which the mandarin replied that he only said so with a view of extorting the truth from the witness.

To this Capt. Rolles observed that they must speak truth if they wished or expected to have it spoken to them in return, and expressed himself very indignant that so disgraceful and unwarrantable a mode should be employed to obtain the kind of evidence that was desired.

Edward Sheen was subjected to further questions, but the whole of his examination was on the same lines as above. The officials entreated the Committee at the close of the day to take steps to force the actual culprit to acknowledge his guilt; only in this way could they bring the affair to a conclusion by satisfying the just demands of the Chinese Government. The next day (10th) the three senior merchants came with a message from the Hoppo, who

proposed that we should consent to point out or procure some individual among the Sailors of the *Neptune* to confess he had struck several Chinese on the 24th February, and had been otherwise active on that day, in which case he would be ordered to be detained in the Factory, which the Merchants pledged themselves and the word of the Mandarines should be the extent of his punishment as they engaged the matter should be so represented to the Tribunals at Pekin as by the Laws of China could only subject the Culprit to some similar penalty.

This proposal, which seemed perfectly proper to the Chinese officials and merchants who made it, was objectionable and outrageous in the opinion of the Englishmen who formed the Select Committee, and they rejected it. The Committee had on their shoulders the responsibility for the detention of ten

ships worth a million pounds, carrying an investment of over two and a half million taels, which would be released at once if they would indicate any one sailor as the person on whom would be inflicted a merely nominal punishment. The Chinese exhausted every means of persuasion to induce them to accede, but they had the constancy to refuse; and on April 13th it was announced that the Chinese would themselves select the culprit. They accordingly on that day held their third trial, conducted by the Kwangchow Fu and all those of the first trial except his predecessor, the former Prefect. The eleven sailors were again called before the judges one by one and questioned; Edward Sheen and Julius Caesar were called up a second time; and

the Quang-cheou Foo then informed the President that Edward Sheen one of the eleven Sailors who were admitted to have been the most riotous, as well as to have struck Chinese on the 24th of February, had confessed in the course of the examination that he was outside of the Factory at the time of the Affray, that he had a pipe in his hand, and in the scuffle had been wounded; on these grounds the Mandarines now present considered him as the most culpable among the Rioters and therefore commit him into the custody of the Chief Supracargo until the pleasure of their Superiors was ascertained.

Sheen was at once placed in custody in the factory, and on April 15th permission was given to resume shipping goods by the *Neptune*; on the same day the other 51 sailors were returned on board; but it was not until April 28th that a mandate from the Kwangchow Fu communicated orders from the Provincial Judge, under instructions from the Viceroy and Governor, that

the Foreigner Edward Sheen having wounded a Native of this Country ought to be adjudged according to the Laws and conformably to the regulations applicable to the circumstances of the case which render the punishment redeemable by a fine.

A report to this effect would be transmitted to the Emperor. Then, and then only, did the Committee feel justified in dispatching their fleet of Indiamen, confident in the certainty that they would not be called upon to deliver to a violent death one who had not been proved guilty of any specific offence. In due time the Emperor's orders were received authorizing Edward Sheen to purge himself of his guilt by payment of a fine of Tls. 12·42 (about £4).

It is difficult to explain the extraordinary change of attitude of the Chinese authorities. At the outset the Namhoi Hien followed the normal course in demanding an accused, who should in turn be a convicted, offender to counterbalance the death of a person guiltless of offence; next in calling on the Security Merchant and English Chief to produce the offender; and then in laying hands on the Security Merchant, a man of wealth, within the grasp of the law, and squeezable. Ordinarily in such a case the merchant was helpless and could escape only by bribing heavily the Hien and his subordinates, or the Hien's superiors. But the question still remains to be answered—why was the charge so much reduced as almost to convert a serious criminal offence into a burlesque?

In the first place we must assume some saving sense of statesmanship in the Chinese officials, who, even when of the highest rank, have in general under the Empire been opportunists, seeking usually the line of least resistance. In the present instance the Namhoi Hien had adopted the usual procedure; but then his action brought him, behind the Security Merchant, up against the Select Committee, and it was found that they were ready to imperil the safety of five million taels worth of property and their own liberty, rather than deliver an unlettered sailor over to Chinese justice, on the absurd ground that no one sailor had yet been proved guilty of anything more serious than rioting. When this attitude was reported to the higher authorities, the Viceroy and Governor might see that a trumpery police case was likely to develop into a grave international question, and the Hoppo might fear that the great development in the foreign trade under his supervision would receive a serious check. These magnates then called off the dogs of justice and ordered that the charge be reduced from homicide in an affray—for which the penalty was death by strangulation—to accidental killing, which might be redeemed by a small fine. It must, however, be noted that this was the exercise, not of the pardoning power inherent in all executives, but of an absolutism which might as easily convert a trivial offence into a capital charge. Their change of attitude may perhaps have been influenced by the intervention of an officer holding His Britannic Majesty's commission: so we might judge from a reference by the Committee to

the able advice and assistance readily given at all times by Captain Rolles, and the additional weight our resolutions derived in the eyes of the Chinese from the concurrence of an officer in the immediate service of His Britannick Majesty, [which] were in our opinion almost essential to the success of the negociation.

But this opinion overlooks, or betrays ignorance of, the low esteem in which the military were held in China, where a military officer with a red button (of probably the second rank) might be sent on a mission [1] which would be entrusted to a civil official of the sixth (opaque white button) or at highest of the fifth rank (crystal button).

To this section of the higher authorities we may ascribe statesmanship; but in China we have to look below the surface to discover the financial motives influencing officials or their subordinates. At Macao in the previous season the Chinese police had stopped the funeral of a murdered Chinese, whose family had preferred no complaint, until their itching palms were soothed.[2] In the *Neptune* case the Select Committee reported to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors:

It is but Justice to mention in this place the advantages which have been derived from the assiduous & diligent exertions of Achow, the partner of Gnewqua, by whose assistance the relations of the deceased Chinese were gained over, and their testimony secured by a pecuniary consideration in such form as was likely to prove most favourable to our cause, altho' by deviating so materially from their original assertions they exposed themselves to the hazard of detection & punishment if the Mandarines had been disposed to strictness in their examination. We are not yet however fully prepared to state to your Hon'ble Committee the particulars of the above transaction.

The Committee may have been fully assured that everything done in the direction of settling this case was done with the full approval of the higher authorities. In any case the customary deductions from the payments to the family of the deceased could not have exceeded 100 per cent. (totality), and would have done no more than satisfy the Yamen underlings who actually received them.

The mainspring of the settlement is probably to be found in the position of Mowqua. At the close of the season 1804 he had informed the Committee of his intention to retire.[3] To secure

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 11. [2] Cf. *antea*, p. 15. [3] Cf. vol. ii, p. 418.

the privilege of retirement he must buy permission, certainly from the Hoppo and his secretaries and confidential agents, probably from the Viceroy and his secretaries, and possibly also from the Governor of the province and his secretaries; this fact he knew, and the way seemed clear if only he could provide sufficient money. His intention was to transfer his business to his brother-in-law Chunqua; but Chunqua's ill health created some delay, and his death in December, 1806, caused a postponement. Then the *Neptune* case brought Mowqua within the danger of the police arm of the administration—the Kwangchow Fu, the Namhoi Hien with jurisdiction over the factories, the Punyü Hien with jurisdiction over the shipping at Whampoa, and even the Künming Fu, a military officer keeping watch on Macao. Thrown into prison, his position is such that he offers a reward of 20,000 dollars to procure the denunciation of a miserable, drunken, rowdy sailor; and on April 10th, the day on which the Committee were asked to indicate a sailor for a mild penalty, Mowqua informs the Committee that he has again taken the resolution of retiring immediately; but we find him still in harness in the next season and continuously until his death in 1812. The inference is strong that Mowqua had contributed materially to the settlement of the case, and that he had been bled white.

APPENDIX Q

The Declaration of the Emperor for the Knowledge and Consideration of the King of England

In devout obedience to the Divine Command we have received the Inheritance of a vast Empire, in which universal tranquillity is now happily established according to our desire ; the splendor of our greatness has not failed to pervade every part of the Earth ; animated by our exertions and example virtuous inclinations are more cultivated than formerly, and the public manners are ameliorated. Awed by our Superiority and Power, or gained by our kindness and Indulgence, even the Nations beyond the four Seas, the nearest as well as the most remote, emulate and participate in this our happy pacification, and in testimony of their Sentiments, they incessantly navigate the Seas and scale the Mountains in order to offer their choicest productions for our acceptance.

In the mean while our Imperial Solicitude is never relaxed ; from the dawn of day to the close of the Evening we are continually employed, either in the Active duties of Government, or in meditating upon, and discovering innumerable modes of rendering our administration still more perfect and efficatious, to the end that the increase of Happiness and the progress of improvement may be constant and unlimited.

Your Majesty's Kingdom is at a remote distance beyond the Seas, but is observant of its duties and obedient to its Laws. Beholding from Afar the Glory of our Empire and respectfully acclaiming the perfection of our Government, Your Majesty has dispatched Messengers with Letters for our perusal and consideration ; we find that they are dictated by appropriate Sentiments of Esteem and veneration, and being therefore inclined to fulfil the Wishes and expectations of your Majesty, we have determined to accept the whole of the accompanying offering.

With regard to those of your Majesty's Subjects who for a long Course of Years have been in the habit of trading to our Empire, we must observe to you that our Celestial Government regards all persons and Nations with eyes of Charity and Benevolence, and always treats and considers your subjects with the utmost indulgence and affection ; on their Account therefore there can be no place or occasion for the exertion of Your Majesty's Government.

But since the letters which your Majesty has expressly addressed to us, are equally demonstrative of the rectitude of your being and the grateful sense you entertain of our loving kindness towards you, and as moreover your Majesty has given Orders to the Governors and Magistrates of your Command to pay peculiar attention and respect to any of the Soldiers or other subjects of the Celestial Empire who may happen to be within the limits of their respective jurisdictions, we behold these unequivocal proofs of your Majesty's Justice and virtue with the greatest admiration and applause, and in order to encourage and exhort you to persevere in a Conduct and in Sentiments so favourable we address you these Letters, and have accompanied them by some presents, of which we desire your acceptance.

May your Majesty respectfully receive these great and signal testimonies of our kindness and benevolence, and long continue to cherish the recollection of the inestimable favours thus conferred on you by the Celestial Empire.

With the Kingdoms in your Neighbourhood may you cultivate peace, and may you direct the Magistrates of your own Kingdom to perform their duties with fidelity. The happiest consequences will be found to ensue both to the present and to future generations; you will imitate and correspond with the sentiments of Universal Charity and Benevolence with which we are actuated and of which the effects are widely diffused. May you lastly duly consider what we have now expressly written for your information.

The first day of the Eleventh Moon of the Tenth year of the Emperor Kia King.

21st of December 1805.

APPENDIX R

The Trial of the *Neptune's* Sailors

The accompanying illustration is after a painting by a Chinese artist, which hangs in the lecture hall of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, representing a trial which is noteworthy as being the first Chinese trial at which Europeans were permitted to be present officially.

On 24th February, 1807, a Chinese was said to have been killed in a rowdy affray between English sailors and Chinese townsmen at Canton; and the authorities held three trials to detect the culprit and determine his guilt among fifty-two sailors who were that day on liberty

from the Indiaman *Neptune*. These trials were held in the great hall of the old factory of the English East India Company, the hall being draped for the purpose with cotton cloth striped red and yellow. The painting represents the first trial, on 9th April, which was presided over by seven Chinese officials—so the records state, but only six could be identified in the records, and the painting shows only six. Of these, five have tables before them, with judgment vases on the tables; the sixth, the representative of the Hoppo, has no such table, since he exercised no judicial function. The officials were the following :—

At the middle table :—

In the middle the Kwangchow Fu, the Fu or Prefect of the Prefecture of Kwangchow (Canton).

On his left (the spectator's right, the Chinese side of honour) his predecessor as Kwangchow Fu.

On his right the Künming Fu, an officer having jurisdiction over Macao.

At the side table on his left, the Punyü Hien, the magistrate of the eastern half of the city of Canton and the district to the east, in which lie Whampoa and the foreign shipping.

At the side table to his right the Namhoi Hien, or magistrate of the western half of the city of Canton and the district to the west, in which lie the European factories and the scene of the riot.

The Hoppo's deputy sits retired at the spectator's left, between the Künming Fu and the Namhoi Hien.

The three at the middle table appear to have transparent blue buttons on their hats, indicating the third rank; the pusa on their breast is not fully delineated, but for that rank would be a blue peacock for the two Kwangchow Fu, and a leopard for the Künming Fu; if the buttons are opaque blue, they indicate the fourth rank, of which the insignia are a wild goose for the civilians and a tiger for the military. The three at the side all appear to have crystal buttons, indicating the fifth rank, of which (for civilians) the pusa is the silver pheasant. These were the judges.

In the pew on the spectator's right (the real left, or side of honour) are four Hong Merchants. These are in order of seniority :—

Puankhequa, who had been a Hong Merchant since 1788, and since 1794 head of the Gild Merchant, Co-Hong, or Consoo of Canton; retired from business at the close of this year.

Mowqua, oldest of the merchants; had made his arrangements for retiring this season, but this affair depleted his purse, and he had not sufficient money left to pay for the privilege of retirement.

Puiqua (known also as Howqua).

Conseequa.

These four all wear the red coral button, indicating the second rank, of which the pusa is the golden pheasant. This puts them in a higher rank than the judges; but the judges acquired theirs by examination

TRIAL OF THE *NEPTUNE*'S SAILORS, CANTON, 1807

and official appointment, while the merchants paid money, much money, for theirs. The youth in a long red gown, standing next to Conseequa, also has a red button on his cap; but it is of silk, and has no significance.

In the pew on the spectator's left are the English representatives:—

Captain Robert Rolles, R.N., of H.M.S. *Lion* (Lord Macartney's ship in 1792–3), who showed great tact in a matter in which he could not venture to intervene too freely, and whose firmness on occasion was such as to command the respect of the Chinese.

John William Roberts, President of the Select Committee.

Thomas Charles Pattle, second member of the Select Committee.

William Bramston, third member of the Select Committee.

Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart., writer and interpreter. He is the page in the suite of Lord Macartney at the reception of the Emperor Kienlung in 1793, as shown in the sketch by William Alexander on the opposite wall; both pictures were presented to the Society by Sir G. T. Staunton. In 1823 he and H. T. Colebrooke founded the Royal Asiatic Society, to which he presented 3,000 volumes of Chinese.

In the painting the three supercargoes, Messrs. Roberts, Pattle, and Bramston, represent dignity and enjoyment of the good things of this life; and the records of the East India Company show that they were men of capacity and of high commercial honour. Sir G. T. Staunton, then in the 26th year of his age, retains the natural slenderness of his years, and still has a waist.

The fifty-two sailors were introduced in batches of five, as shown in the painting. The two marines lent dignity to the court; Captain Rolles had proposed to show honour to the judges by a more numerous guard of red-coated marines, but the Chinese merchants gently hinted that such an attention might instil more fear than pleasure.

From *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1922.

LXIII

CONSOO CHARGES: KING'S SHIPS, 1807

For the season 1807 the Select Committee consisted of Mr. J. W. Roberts, as President, and Messrs. T. C. Pattle, W. Bramston, John Fullarton Elphinstone, and William Baring. Mr. Elphinstone arrived from England; Mr. Baring was promoted from the Canton staff, and was absent to the end of the season on a voyage for his health, returning to his post on July 21, 1808. The books were opened on April 24th with the following balances:

	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury	867,058
Tea in stock, 28,522 piculs	598,276
Owing by Chinese merchants	1,728,813
Interest bonds from Spanish Company	108,000
Anchors	1,503
Factory account	21,823
Credit Balance	3,325,473

A further sum of Tls. 822,036 was that day paid to the Chinese merchants, excepting Puankhequa, raising the total owed by the merchants to Tls. 2,550,849.

During the season the Company loaded for London 14 ships of 16,073 tons. Their import cargoes realized: woollens (prime cost f.o.b. as invoiced £1,010,757), Tls. 2,888,632; tin (£44,398), Tls. 145,259; lead (£43,833), Tls. 117,449; total English products, Tls. 3,151,340. Indian products realized: cotton (invoiced f.o.b. at 539,064 Bombay rupees), Tls. 422,983; pepper from Benkulen (112,082 dollars), Tls. 92,868; spices, Tls. 27,161; sandalwood (50,119 pagodas), Tls. 112,800; total Indian products, Tls. 655,812. All imports on the Company's own account, Tls. 3,807,152.

The Company imported no silver, but sent away 3,377,070 dollars = Tls. 2,431,490 to Calcutta, under circumstances referred to below. During the season there were received into the treasury 750,146 dollars for bills on London at 5*s.* 7*d.* and 730 days;

1,620,683 dollars for bills on Bengal at exchange 45 and 45 days; 412,971 dollars for certificates; a total of Tls. 2,004,336. Transfers in favour of Chinese merchants amounted to 461,600 dollars = Tls. 332,352. On February 28, 1808, there were received into the treasury from Puankhequa 210,925 dollars the balance of his account, from Howqua (Puiqua) 50,000 dollars, from Yanqua 150,000 dollars, total 410,925 dollars = Tls. 295,866. In bullion, apart from the sale of imports, the treasury lost on balance the sum of Tls. 131,288. The investment by the 14 ships was invoiced at Tls. 3,807,863. The comprador's account was as follows:

	Tls.
Charges extraordinary	23,781
Charges on merchandise	9,919
House rent, repairs and furniture	14,920
House expenses	20,839
	69,459

The trade particulars during the season were as follows:

		Ships.		*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Silk.*	*Nankeens.*
		No.	Tons.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company	14	16,073	93,327	138,368	701	200,000
	Country	37	24,180	265,151	1,830	425	88,000
American		30	8,275	2,210	58,770	43	1,200,000
		81	48,528	360,688	198,968	1169	1,488,000

Of the shipping the Indiamen, except the *Retreat* of 505 tons, were chartered at or about 1,200 tons, the English country ships averaged 654 tons, the American averaged 276 tons, seven being under 200 tons, and six being between 400 and 500 tons. The American ships brought bullion to the amount of 1,532 chests, presumably containing 6,128,000 dollars, but it is possible that the Americans packed their dollars in chests of a more convenient size than the English Company. A Portuguese ship arrived at Macao from Lisbon 'last from Lima having on board more than 500,000 Dollars'. Of ginseng the American ships brought 1,407 piculs, the English 45 piculs. The Americans brought 230,670 sealskins, the English none; of other fine furs, Americans 19,735, English 1,136; of rabbit skins the English 20,150. The raw silk by the Company's ships is as usual of the

superior Nanking product, while that by the American and country ships is the cheaper Canton silk. The value of the cotton imported was not less than Tls. 5,000,000.

Following the precedent of the two previous seasons, the Governor-General, Sir George Hilaro Barlow, in Council under date of March 12th, ordered the Bombay, Madras, and Penang authorities to intercept all silver on its way to China and send it to Calcutta; and at the same time authorized the Select Committee to draw on Bengal 'in the present season to any extent which you may judge proper'. These advices were received on June 17th, and on the return of the factory to Canton, on October 29th, the Committee were in the comfortable position of having sufficient assets in hand, as shown above, to provide for their investment, and so to be able to dispense with any outside aid, either from bullion or from bills on London or India. But the country trade had come to depend on the Company's bills as a means of remittance to India; and the Committee, being reluctant to cut off the facility, came to the decision to grant bills as usual, but to send the proceeds in specie to Calcutta. In this they anticipated an appeal to all quarters for aid to his treasury from the new Governor-General, Lord Minto, whose dispatch to Canton was received two days after the Committee's decision was recorded. The position was such, however, that rates of exchange more favourable to the Company could be demanded, and bills on Bengal were granted at 45 dollars per 100 current rupees and 45 days after sight, and at a later date bills on London at 5*s.* 7*d.* and 730 days, which, it was estimated, was the equivalent of 5*s.* 3*d.* and 365 days. There was at first some doubt whether a permit could be obtained to export the silver—in fact shipments, when made, were usually without permit, on 'payment of 5 dollars per chest to the inferior Mandarines at the Custom house'. Two weeks after the matter was first broached,

Mowqua a second time bro't back the Committee's address to the Hoppo relative to the shipment of Treasure unopened; he said that on consulting with a confidential clerk of the Hoppo's office he had been convinced that our object would be frustrated if we persisted in the delivery of the letter tho' by waiting a few days while the matter was privately urged and explained to the Viceroy he relied that all difficulties might be overcome.

The difficulties were overcome after 4 weeks, and the permit was issued on November 26th.

It does not clearly appear upon what terms this favor has been obtained, but it is to be apprehended that the Merchants have not been suffered to escape on this occasion without some pecuniary sacrifice.

The merchants were, on this occasion, between the upper and the nether millstone. The treasure was to be shipped on H.M.S. *Modeste*, but, as ships of war were not permitted to pass the Bogue, the boats of the Indiamen carried it to Whampoa, whence it was to be taken by the country ship *Albion* to Chuenpi. While it was in course of transfer to the *Albion*, that ship was discovered to be on fire, and was scuttled in port in order to save the bullion, on which in the end the loss by fire amounted to 0·6 per cent., and by fire and salvage together to 0·88 per cent. Out of 433 chests, 177 had not reached the ship, 136 being in the lower hold were rescued entire by divers, and 120 in the gun-room had suffered fire damage. The original invoice was as follows:

	Tls.	Dollars.
38 chests Sycee or fine silver of 100 touch . .	152,000	
Premium on silver 6·8 per cent. . . .	10,336	
(Tls. 72 = 100 dollars) Tls.	162,336	225,467
50 chests new Spanish dollars . . .		300,000
345 chests broken, cut & defaced dollars received by weight at Tls. 0·718 per dollar . . .		1,725,000
	Dollars	2,250,467

Shipping charges 1,172 dollars.

On February 29, 1808, a second similar shipment of bullion to Bengal was made by H.M.S. *Jupiter*, invoiced as follows:

	Dollars.
228 chests cut and defaced dollars, each chest containing 5 bags, each bag cont'g 718 Tales each equal 1,000 Dollars .	1,140,000
Shipping Charges 715 dollars	

This source for supplying the Indian treasury had also attracted the attention of the Court of Directors, whose general instructions of April 8th had reached the Committee by the direct ships on December 25th, three weeks after the first shipment had been made. In those instructions the Court made

observations on the flourishing state of Finances in China and abundance

of resources arising from the India Trade, which may in time not only supply immediate wants, but afford a surplus applicable to the service of India. The subject will be examined more minutely hereafter.

The freight on these consignments was a subject of dispute with the captains of the frigates. On a small shipment by H.M.S. *Belliqueux* of 38,903 dollars to Penang in July (the proceeds of a consignment of spices) the Committee paid 2 per cent., but they considered that percentage of three and a third million dollars to be too heavy. Captain Elliot of the *Modeste* demanded 2 per cent., but Mr. Pattle objected on the ground that the ordinary rate from port to port in India was 1 per cent., and the matter was left for the Governor-General's decision. Captain Barker of the *Jupiter* also demanded 2 per cent., and he persisted until he was informed of instances of a lower rate of freight, when he too agreed to leave the question for settlement at Fort William. The Governor-General in Council under date of March 17, 1807, referred to the orders of the Court of Directors which

preclude us from allowing a higher freight than 1 per cent on the Treasure for the whole Voyage from Canton to the Presidencies in India.

In February, 1810, Captain Austen of H.M.S. *St. Albans*, convoying the Indiamen from Canton to England, under his general instructions from Admiral Drury, accepted treasure for Madras and was, as he might find possible, to

(*a*) tranship to another frigate for Madras, in which case each ship would receive ½ of 1 per cent.;

(*b*) land the treasure at Penang, when the *St. Albans* would receive ½ of 1 per cent.;

(*c*) carry the treasure on to England, when the *St. Albans* was to receive ⅔ of the second ½ of 1 per cent.

The suspension of the one-year bills was an inconvenience to the country trade and the private traders, and remonstrances were sent to the Committee by Messrs. Wm. Baring & Co. (the Company's House of Agency), Messrs. Beale & Magniac (Prussian Consul and Vice-Consul), and from the Company's commanders, all asking for 365-day bills at the corresponding exchange. The first two were informed that their requests could not be complied with. The commanders were informed that they and their

officers might have certificates for double the usual amounts, expressly as ' Extra Indulgence ', on the ground that they

> by the permission of the Hon'ble Court are enabled to employ much larger sums on their outward bound voyage than they can possibly invest in their privilege homeward ; and this surplus they are most positively directed to remit thro' the Company's treasury not being permitted on any account to resort to foreign channels.

And yet their privileged investment was not small, extending to a general space of 99 tons for the homeward voyage. For the outward voyage we have no record of the privilege from London ; but for the ships coming by way of Bombay, the privilege from Bombay to Canton to the commander and officers was two-fifths of the tonnage builder's measurement, as shown below :

	Tonnage b. m.	*Commander's Privilege.*	*No. of Crew.**
True Briton	1,210	484	121
Britannia	1,273	509	102
Nottingham	1,152	461	115
Scaleby Castle	1,242	497	90

* Not including officers and midshipmen.

The homeward privilege in tea was considerable, being in the two seasons 1806 and 1807 of the following amounts :

	1806		*1807*	
	Company. lb.	*Private.* lb.	*Company.* lb.	*Private.* lb.
Bohea	1,736,915	..	1,353,336	..
Congo	19,022,725	192,024	11,796,914	779,768
Souchong	295,313	1,064,640	300,883	466,960
Singlo & Twankay	4,409,977	11,520	3,670,178	40,000
Hyson Skins	286,107	169,155	387,173	122,694
Hyson	641,671	311,976	940,683	243,936
	26,392,708	1,749,315	18,449,167	1,653,358

This table is useful in showing that the published quantities of tea shipped by the Company's ships must be increased by about 8 per cent. for the private trade ; but as the private trade engages largely in fine teas (Souchong for black and Hyson for green), the increase in value is nearly 10 per cent.

Settling the ' character ' of teas has now been in vogue for some years, and the winter contracts are no longer made at one price for each class of tea, but at graduated prices. The following

were the prices in taels per picul for each character of some of the classes of tea bought for this season:

	Winter contracts.			*Market contracts.*	
	Congo.	Souchong.	Pekoe.	Souchong.	Twankay.
Middling good	..	..	..	..	40
Good mid. to mid. good	..	..	..	..	38
Good middling	..	..	..	50	34–36
Mid. to good mid.	..	..	..	48	32–34
Middling	..	28	40	45	30–32
But mid. to mid.	..	27	38	42	28
But middling	..	25–26	36	40	27
Good ord. to but mid.	..	23	32	..	26
Good ordinary	21–22	21–22	30	..	26
Ord. to good ord.	19–20	..	..	..	25
Ordinary	17–18	..	..	..	24

At the end of the season the winter contracts for the season 1808 were made as follows:

	Woollens.	*Bohea.*	*Other teas.*
	Seventeenths.	Large chests.	Small chests.
Mowqua	4	600	18,000
Puiqua	3	500	13,500
Chunqua	3	500	13,500
Ponqua	1	200	4,500
Gnewqua	1	200	4,500
Conseequa	2	400	9,000
Exchin	1	200	4,500
Manhop	1	200	4,500
Poonequa	½	..	2,500
Lyqua	½	200	2,500
	17	3,000	77,000

Puankhequa carried out his intention of retiring, and during this season had no transactions with the Company; and on February 28, 1808, he closed his accounts by paying to the Committee the sum of 210,925 dollars. On February 24th it had been recorded that

> information was received yesterday evening of the Emperor's having permitted Puankhequa to retire from the situation of Hong Merchant and directing the immediate Payment of the sum of Tales 100,000 a fine that had been remitted on a former occasion and which, on requesting permission to retire, he had offered to discharge.

There is no record of the sums which he had to pay to the Hoppo, the Viceroy, the Governor, their subordinates, and their servants, for the permission he sought. Prior to his departure

to his ancestral home in Fukien he declared to the Committee that

> he did not relinquish his Concerns with the Company without reluctance, especially when he reflected that his Father and himself had been employed in their Service fifty years, and had ever experienced the greatest liberality and kindness, which he had accordingly endeavoured to repay by every attention in his power to their Interests, and altho' the long established connexion was now about to cease, he added that the benefits he had derived from it, and the fact of its having principally contributed to place himself and his Family in their present state of opulence and comfort would always be acknowledged and remembered with gratitude.

Mowqua had been so much crippled by his expenses in connexion with the *Neptune* that he was unable to carry out his intention of retiring, and he now became the Senior Merchant.

The Court instructed the Committee

> that the Merchants be called upon in a Body to discontinue the Consoo charges and in the event of their refusing to do so the Government be applied to, unless it appear self-evident that such an application would be improper.

The Committee now pointed out that this charge had no counterpart in any other country in the world, and admitted that the usual annual surplus 'might probably afford a pretext to the rapacious demands of the Mandarines'; but they insisted that it was not a tax on the foreign trader, but was only an authorization to the Hong Merchants to assess themselves in a fixed proportion for certain defined purposes. The assessment had been first levied in 1880 to meet the obligation to pay Hong Merchants' debts, and the extension of the levy to woollens had been successfully resisted in 1801. At this time, 1807, there were no debts outstanding:

> Altho' the debts of Shykinqua have long been liquidated, the rapacity of the Mandarines and the urgencies of the State have most considerably augmented the demands annually made upon the Merchants collectively.

The levy was at the rate of 3 per cent. *ad valorem* upon the articles liable to it, but the value on which it was assessed was fixed: tin Tls. 13·50 per picul, lead Tls. 4·50, pepper Tls. 10 (these three about present market value); cotton Tls. 8, raw silk Tls. 160, tea Tls. 20 (the present market values being cotton

Tls. 14, silk Tls. 300–350, tea Tls. 14–55). The demands on the Consoo Fund in certain years were as follows :

		Tls.
1793.	Cong Ka, a sum annually presented to the Emperor originally established instead of clocks, watches, etc., but continued altho similar articles are again demanded . . .	55,000
	Quan Suie, a contribution to defray the expenses of the Army, which is demanded whenever revolt increases the expenses in this Department :	
	for Fukien	50,000
	for Setchuen	25,000
	To discharge debts of Sinqua to Europeans . . .	42,500
	Clocks, watches & pieces of mechanism purchased for the Emperor by order of the Hoppo	100,000
	Total for 1793	272,500

		Tls.
1796.	Cong Ka	55,000
	Quan Suie, Setchuen	25,000
	To discharge of debts of Shykinqua to Europeans . .	99,788
	Clocks, watches, etc.	100,000
	Total for 1796	279,788

		Tls.
1805.	Cong Ka	55,000
	Quan Suie : Setchuen & Hoquam [Hu Kwang] . . .	20,000
	Setchuen & Shensi	20,000
	Contribution to repair the banks of the Yellow River . .	37,500
	,, to build boats against the Ladrones . .	30,000
	,, for armament	40,000
	Presents to the Ministers at Pekin	5,400
	Clocks, watches, etc., etc., etc.	150,000
	Total for 1805	357,900

		Tls.
1806.	Cong Ka	55,000
	Quan Suie : Setchuen & Shensi	61,666
	Contribution : banks of Yellow River . . .	37,500
	boats against Ladrones . . .	70,000
	armament	20,000
	Presents to the Mandarines at Pekin	5,400
	Watches, clocks, etc., etc.	200,000
	Total for 1806	449,566

To this table the Committee add the following note :

In addition to these amounts considerable sums are annually extorted from the Merchants for the private purse of the Hoppo, which are not payable from the Consoo fund nor can the amount of them be accurately

ascertained, but to their full extent most probably fall on the European Trade.

The Committee decided that the moment was not opportune for making a representation to the authorities, but they presented the views of the Directors to the Hong Merchants, who at once pointed out that the commodity—woollens—in which the Company was most interested, was exempt from this charge; they also pointed out that the Committee might easily diminish the demand on the Consoo fund by totally preventing the importation of clocks, watches, mechanical toys, and other European curiosities. In short, they held out small hope of ever securing much reduction in this burden on the trade.

Far from giving any relaxation, the authorities were tightening their hold on the foreign trade. On May 23, 1807, the Company's surveying cruisers *Discovery* and *Antelope* returned to Macao, which they had left on the 11th, having on board Mr. Turner and his boat's crew from the *Tay*, who had been prisoners to the pirates for five months, and were now released on payment of a ransom of 2,500 dollars in cash, 3 chests of opium, and 5,000 pieces of matting, a total of 6,000 dollars; the Chinese merchants had subscribed half of this and the foreign residents half. Two days later the Committee at Macao received copy of a mandate from the Viceroy, temporarily administering the office of Hoppo, directing that foreign ships, which could defend themselves from the Ladrones, were forbidden to send boats in from the open sea on pretence of obtaining a pilot, but were themselves to call in at Macao and obtain their pilot from the Künming Fu. Landing at Macao from ships proceeding to Whampoa was strictly prohibited, as was the employment of unlicensed pilots; but the number of pilots was to be increased. At the same time, May 28th, an act of oppression by the Chinese officials exercising jurisdiction over Macao was recorded:

An old regulation which has long been obsolete, by which the Chinese in general are forbidden to engage themselves as house servants to Foreigners was republished and attempted to be enforced with rigour, in the expectation of obtaining a considerable bribe for future connivance, one Chinese in European employ having been actually seized and subjected to corporal punishment. The rest were under the necessity of concealing themselves to avoid similar treatment or pecuniary demands of which they were more apprehensive.

Mr. Roberts wrote to the Hong Merchants, through whose influence orders were sent down that the practice was to cease; but the fact that such a regulation had been revived, even if only for the purpose of extortion, was ominous for the future.

In that month of May, 1807, the Titu of Fukien having come down with many gunboats to suppress piracy, the Canton Viceroy visited Macao for the purpose of conferring with him. The Portuguese authorities seized the opportunity to present a memorial to the Viceroy, begging

1°. that he would relax the standing prohibition to erect new houses or reconstruct old;

2°. that, as 25 vessels trading to Macao are now taxed at a lower rate, and as 25 are insufficient for the needs of the port, the preferential treatment be extended to additional 25;

3°. that vessels of under 3,000 piculs (180 tons) dead weight capacity be entirely exempted from shipping dues at Macao;

4°. that the Government salt boats now frequenting the port in excessive numbers be ordered to move;

5°. that the Heungshan Hien be ordered to remove the mat hovels which he now protects.

The memorial further recalled to the Viceroy's memory the attempt by the English to occupy Macao by force in 1802, and hinted that there was danger to Chinese interests, as well as to Portuguese, in Macao from the presence in these waters of so many King's ships coming on the pretext of convoying the Indiamen, and from the constant cruising of the Company's ships *Discovery* and *Antelope* on the pretext of surveying.

In fact these ships contrary to the ancient practice now frequently visit Macao, sometimes anchoring sometimes navigating to and fro and whenever the ships of any other nation come to trade to the province of Canton, they proceed without authority to search and examine them, acting thus in a manner which is indeed very unbecoming and reprehensible.

Copies of this memorial were sent by the Committee to Sir George Hilaro Barlow, the Governor-General, and to Sir Edward Pellew, Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, as well as to the Secret Committee.

The King's ships had cruised about between Macao and Manila, and had given much unwelcome attention to Spanish

commerce while Spain was officially at war as ally to France; but during this season they were more particular in their attentions to American ships, which persisted in maintaining an offensive and profitable neutrality, and in resisting the impressment of their seamen. On August 8, 1807, H.M. brig *Diana* boarded an American schooner in Macao Roads and took possession of her, the American commander losing his life in attempting to defend his vessel. The *Diana* had come to China to aid in suppressing Chinese piracy, but her commander, Lieut. W. Kempthorne, now wrote to Mr. Roberts:

> I have taken possession of the American Schooner who has been committing acts of Piracy under English Colors on the Coast of Spanish America; she is a valuable vessel for her size, and it has given me some trouble to decide on the best mode of disposing of her for the present; it has occurred as no step can be taken here that I am aware of, carrying her to India is the best plan. In consequence I must abandon the purpose for which I remained here, tho' I trust as the pirates do not appear troublesome at present, the factory will not feel any inconvenience from this alteration.

It is to be presumed that the prize was taken to the Admiralty Court at Fort St. George for adjudication, but the fact is not recorded.

On October 6th the American Consul, a merchant named Carrington, wrote to the Hoppo complaining that the English naval captain had demanded that arrears of wages should be paid to six sailors impressed by him from two American ships at Whampoa, the *General Clarkson* and [illegible], and threatening, if the money was withheld, to come and take it by force. On the 3rd the Hoppo's officer at Whampoa had reported that

> an English Ship-of-War Boat having on board 2 Great Guns, 8 firelocks, 8 Swords and 16 men had boarded Captain Campbell's Ship and taken 10 men.

The Chinese always referred to all ships by the commander's name. There is no Campbell (or Kimball or other homophone) in the list of American ships; there are two Campbells among the English country ships. The Committee wrote to Captain Pellew, R.N., a gentle hint of the neutral status of Whampoa, but the result is not recorded.

On November 29th the Committee record that two American

ships are reported to have arrived at Macao, one from the north-west coast of America, the other from Japan, bound to Batavia, but driven by stress of weather on the coast of China.

The latter vessel, which is most probably laden with Dutch Property, has taken shelter in the Taypa.

On the same day the Company's cruiser *Discovery*, engaged on surveying, went from Chuenpi to Macao; and her commander, Lieut. Daniel Ross, learning that the American ship was laden with copper on Dutch account, the next day went in his boats, armed, and boarded the ship, the *Mount Vernon* of Philadelphia, and was informed that she had taken a Dutch cargo from Batavia to Japan and was now returning with a Dutch-owned cargo of copper. Lieut. Ross then resolved to detain this enemy-owned cargo until he should inform the captain of H.M.S. *Modeste*. Leaving a boat's crew on board, he returned to the *Discovery* in the evening, and reading carefully his instructions from the Select Committee, he found that he had been strictly 'forbidden to molest the enemies of Great Britain', since by so doing he might impede his work of surveying, and also might give a handle to the Portuguese in their constant protests against the frequent visits of the surveying cruisers to Macao Harbour and the Taipa anchorage. He at once sent his first officer to the *Mount Vernon* with written orders to withdraw the prize crew. In the meantime the Portuguese authorities had taken action. They claimed to exercise jurisdiction over the Taipa anchorage, a claim certainly rejected by the Chinese authorities and not always admitted by the commanders of the British ships of war; and after Lieut. Ross left the *Mount Vernon*, the Portuguese seized the prize crew on board, and shifted the vessel nearer to the forts. Lieut. Ross then wrote to the Portuguese Governor demanding the release of his boat's crew. They were returned the next day towards evening, with a letter charging him with infringing the neutrality of Macao; to this he replied that he would report the circumstances to the Governor-General and to Admiral Sir E. Pellew. The Committee record their displeasure with Lieut. Ross for thus endangering his survey work and for further exciting the suspicions and jealousy of the Portuguese authorities—an atti-

tude which had been manifested in the spring of 1802, and was again to be in evidence in the coming season.

The pirates were again active during the season 1807, and in April the commander of the naval forces of the province of Fukien was ordered into Kwangtung waters. The English Company had also hoped to co-operate, and sent out the *Retreat*, 505 tons, specially equipped and manned, with instructions to offer her services to the Chinese authorities. This offer was of course rejected, since acceptance would have been a confession of impotence, and the *Retreat*, loaded with tea, joined the first fleet dispatched in January, 1808. The Chinese naval authorities engaged in their task without foreign entanglements, and had one or two minor successes, but on February 4, 1808,

Information was received of a severe engagement having taken place between the Fleets of the Mandarines and Pirates, which terminated entirely in favor of the latter. The accounts of this action are various, tho' the most moderate state that the Imperial Fleet consisted of a Squadron of 18 Boats belonging to the Province of Fokien commanded in person by the Tay Tock : not more than 2 or 3 of this number of Boats are supposed to have escaped to relate the disastrous event, the remainder being either taken or destroyed by the Ladrones. Among the lives lost on this occasion the Chinese have to lament that of the Commander in Chief of the Imperial Fleet, a Mandarine thro' whose exertions the reduction of the Pirates had been hoped for, and whose loss is considered irreparable, as he has long been a solitary instance of a Mandarine commanding any of the Armaments against the Ladrones have the spirit and resolution to do his duty.

During this time the King's ships were treated with no more consideration than before. Two of H.M. ships, the *Phaeton* and the *Bellone*, returned to Taipa in August from a cruise over to the Philippines and were much battered by tempestuous weather.

On August 19th H.M. Brig *Diana* sailed thro' the roads bound up the River in order to procure naval stores from the Ships at Whampoa for the use of the *Phaeton* and *Bellona*.

Sept. 15. Returned from Whampoa H.M. Brig *Diana*. The arrival of this Vessel in the River without leave, and without cargo, occasioned as was to be expected an immediate inquiry from the Officers of Government, and shortly afterwards an Edict from the Viceroy complaining of this infringement of established regulations, and ordering the *Diana* to quit the River immediately. We find however that the Merchants have succeeded in preventing any serious consequences, by underrating the size of the vessel.

Having completed their repairs the three ships sailed to Chuenpi, where they were joined on October 14th by H.M.S. *Sir Francis Drake*. At once came out a mandate from the Hoppo to the Hong Merchants ordering the ships out and to return to Macao Roads,

there to remain at anchor and not to alledge pretexts for approaching the Bogue which is directly contrary to the Laws and absolutely unallowable. You Hong Merchants then on whom the duty rests of communicating between Government and Foreigners shall in a proper and careful manner carry these orders into effect, without considering them slightingly or as mere matter of form and custom, for in such case I shall proceed against you with the utmost severity.

The Committee agreed to transmit the Hoppo's orders, but pointed out as usual that they could exercise no control over the actions of King's officers. This was represented by the Hong Merchants to the Hoppo as compliance, with which he expressed his great gratification; but the ships were left undisturbed, and the Committee on January 7, 1808,

have the satisfaction to remark that no interruption has since been experienced by His Majestys Ships to the free enjoyment of the Privilege of anchoring and being supplied with provisions at Chuenpee.

In February Captain Barker, under instructions from Sir E. Pellew, wished to send to the Viceroy a letter regarding Captain Wood's unsettled claim for the *Phaeton's* prize, but, before the necessary preliminaries could be settled, the Viceroy was away to Macao to look into the problem of the Ladrones.

Edward Sheen remained in the custody of the Committee, going with them to Macao, and returning with them on October 29, 1807, to Canton. There was some delay in giving the necessary authorization, but it was finally issued on May 8th, and the factory left at once for Macao. On June 8th

The Quang-choo-foo or Governor of Casa Branca[1] having signified a desire to see the detained Seaman Edward Sheen his request was readily assented to, and Mr. Fraser at the desire of the President received the Mandarin at the Factory. A written acknowledgement was also demanded of Edward Sheen being in safe custody, but this request was declared irregular, and the motives of the request unknown.

[1] Probably the Künming Fu stationed at Casa Branca, acting on behalf of the Kwangehow Fu, who was unlikely to have left Canton.

The next step was a demand from the Heungshan Hien, in whose jurisdiction Macao lay, on the Procurador of Macao for the immediate delivery of Sheen to the Chinese authorities. The Committee wrote then to the Hong Merchants declaring that they had refused to give any pledge regarding Sheen, that they would not surrender him, and that in case of need they would send him for safety on H.M.S. *Belliqueux*, then at Lintin. The Portuguese Senate refused to intervene in the affair. A month later, the Hong Merchants wrote saying that they had heard that Sheen was sick, and asking the Committee to send a report to that effect ; and on July 21st,

> a more pressing letter has been received from the Merchants repeating the request and intimating in an indirect manner that our refusal to comply with the established custom on this occasion would expose the Merchants to additional embarrassment.

The Committee refused to certify to what was not a fact, resented the imputation on their honesty, and were suspicious of the motives which might lie concealed in the request. Again, a month later Mowqua and two other Hong Merchants went to Macao in order to demonstrate to the Committee that they all, but especially Mowqua, must suffer seriously if some means were not adopted to appease the anger and remove the apprehensions of the Viceroy. The Committee declined to accede to their proposal to comply with an unjust and unwarrantable demand from the Government. On September 12th a confidential clerk of the Kwangchow Fu went to Macao to see Sheen ; and constantly through those two months the merchants were striving to persuade the Committee to adopt any subterfuge to pacify the Viceroy and the authorities. At Canton the atmosphere was better, since the higher authorities could more easily assure themselves of the Committee's bona fides. On November 6th the Provincial Judge, accompanied by the two magistrates (the Namhoi Hien and the Punyü Hien), went to the English factory ; the hall was arranged as in the previous season, except that, in the presence of the Judge, the Hong Merchants were not provided with seats. The Judge, it may further be noted, though wearing his official hat, did not wear the robes of his rank. Edward Sheen was brought in for inspection, there was no ceremony, and the officials retired.

During all this time no report of the case had been sent to Peking, but a memorial was sent up in the middle of November narrating the case in great detail, but making light of it and treating the death as a regrettable incident. In order to facilitate matters the Committee kept Sheen at Canton until the dispatch of the second fleet, and it was not until March 4, 1808, that

We had the satisfaction to receive from Mowqua an official communication from the Hoppo of the Emperor's approval of the sentence passed by the Government of Canton in the case of a Chinese supposed to have lost his life in an affray with the Seamen of the *Neptune*, and directing upon paying the fine [of Tls. 12·42] Edward Sheen should be permitted to return to his own Country.

On the 5th the Committee directed that he be received on board the *Hope*, then ready for dispatch.

Both sides were trying to devise some means of preventing such disturbances as had given rise to Edward Sheen's case. The Hoppo prohibited all liberty to sailors to go up to Canton, so did the Committee; but the Committee saw what the Hoppo did not, that it would be impossible to keep sailors on board their ship during the whole of the two or three months in which she was anchored within a stone's throw of the shore, after an ocean voyage of five months, and with a similar ocean voyage ahead of them. The Committee complained to the Hoppo of the irregularities committed by the Chinese on Danes Island; and asked if some method could not be devised to enable the sailors to buy at Whampoa the trifling articles which they had been in the habit of buying when on liberty at Canton. No definite decision was arrived at during this season.

The Company's staff at Canton was now as follows:

Select Committee (usually 3, this season) 5.
Supercargoes and Writers below the Committee 12.
Tea Inspectors 2.
Surgeons 2.

The Court of Directors were much perturbed by the conduct of certain Supracargoes who, having married in India, have afterwards taken their wives to reside at Macao. It was in the contemplation of the Court to order those Ladies who were the wives of their China Servants to be sent to England, but forbear to do so considering that the measure might bear hard on those whose conduct had been sanctioned by example. In future however the orders on the subject of

Matrimony of the 23rd December 1778 are to be enforced, except with respect to those who had married previous to the receipt of these advices, and for any breach thereof the Committee will be held responsible.

Supplementary to the establishment was Mr. Thomas Manning, who had arrived by the *Thames* in January, 1806, specially commended to the Committee by the Court, who desired that he be given every assistance in learning the language and in penetrating to the interior of China. Within three months of his arrival the Committee record their opinion that

it is but justice to the respectable & estimable Character of Mr. Manning to observe that we place the utmost confidence in his Prudence & Judgement, in not attempting to take any steps that might be attended with inconvenience or embarrassment to the Company, and altho' we entertain but a very faint hope of his success, we conceive, from the knowledge & disposition he possesses, the consequences might be rather favorable than otherwise to the public service.

He doubtless began at once to study the Chinese language, obtaining the clue to the labyrinth from Sir G. T. Staunton; and on November 6, 1807, when the Provincial Judge came to the factory to inspect Edward Sheen, Mr. Manning took the opportunity to hand him a petition to the Viceroy, 'offering his services to His Imperial Majesty as Astronomer and Physician'. The reply came a few days later that

his offer of services to the Emperor cannot be accepted or even communicated to His Majesty while there continues to be a sufficient number of European Astronomers already at Peking. . . . The Hoppo further directed the Hong Merchants to ascertain the Ship by which Mr. Manning intended to take his departure for Europe, but the Edict conveyed no express order for his quitting this Country.

In February, 1808, Mr. Manning went to Hué in the suite of Monsieur Dayot, a French refugee going as emissary of the English Committee to the King of Annam. Mr. Manning's hope was that from Annam he might penetrate into China and thereby obtain access to the interior. In this hope he was disappointed, and in February, 1809, we find him at Canton translating Chinese documents for the Committee, but bent on trying fortune again in Annam; but before going, he did the Company a good turn by introducing Mr. Robert Morrison to its service. Sir G. T. Staunton had gone to England in March, 1808.

As the departure of the Padre Rodrigo from Macao and Mr. Manning purposing to revisit Cochin China by the return of the *Antelope*, would leave us dependent on Chinese for translations etc., whose fidelity must be doubted, and whose services we cannot at all times command, the Committee took into consideration an offer which had been made to us by Mr. Robert Morrison. This Gentleman arrived two years ago [September 7, 1807] in an American Ship [the *Trident* from New York], as we understood on a religious Mission, and already possessed of some little knowledge of the Chinese Language, by the greatest application and assiduity we believe he has now made considerable progress in a Chinese Grammar and Dictionary.

Mr. Morrison was thereupon engaged as Interpreter to the Company's establishment in China at a salary of 2,000 dollars a year; at the same time permission was given to a student of his, Mr. Morton, to remain in China in order to continue his studies.

Mr. Manning returned to Canton in July, 1808, and in January, 1810, went to Calcutta with a letter from the Committee to Lord Minto introducing him as

a gentleman who at the request and recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, the Hon'ble Company have permitted to reside with the Factory in China. The object of his visit to China has been to qualify himself by studying the Language & Customs of China to explore the Country. In these pursuits he has made considerable progress, but finding his ultimate views impracticable from this quarter is proceeding to Calcutta. As we consider Mr. Manning well qualified for the task he has undertaken, and that whatever can tend to encrease the general knowledge of the Language and Customs of China, will prove of essential service to the interests of the Hon'ble Company, and our Country, we anxiously hope your Lordship will not consider it improper to afford Mr. Manning every practicable assistance in the prosecution of his plans.

Opium formed the subject of a letter, dated August 8, 1806, from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, the nature of which may be gathered from the reply of the Select Committee, dated June 24, 1807. The words in italics were sent in cipher.

The *Speculations* of the *Americans* in the *Trade* of *Opium* from *Smyrna* to *China* have not failed to attract our attention and are probable, if carried to any extent, to prove *injurious* to the Hon'ble Company, we should have endeavoured to *check* the *importation* had the measure appeared practicable. It is not unknown to your Hon'ble Committee that the *importation of opium* into China is most strictly prohibited; any direct representation to the Government therefore, if possible

under these circumstances, it is to be apprehended would have the effect of causing the restriction against the *importation of this drug* to be rigorously enforced and thus counteract the principal object your Hon'ble Committee appears to have in view, namely to maintain the favorable *sale* in China of the *produce of Bengal*. The first vessels bringing *opium* direct from the *Mediterranean* to *China* were those which arrived in June & July last, several parcels have also at different times been brought by the circuitous route of *America* : for the very inferior estimation in which the *Turkey Opium* is held by the *Chinese*, comparatively with the *produce of Bengal*, we do not conceive the *speculations of the Americans* are likely permanently to interfere with the Interests of the Hon'ble Company, altho' from the advantageous sale of the Article at the close of last Season, it is probable they may for a time be extended and produce some temporary *injurious* effect on the Market. The *Turkey Opium* is we believe used entirely for the purpose of adulterating the *produce of Bengal*, and for this purpose a small quantity, perhaps 100 peculs, will find a ready sale, but a considerable importation will be unsaleable, nor will such prices be given as will repay the *Speculators*, except when the *Opium* from *Bengal* is selling on very favorable terms. It is to be hoped that the length of the voyage from any part of *Europe* will tend to render the danger of so dreadful a Calamity taking place as the introduction of the *seeds* of the *Plague* by the *importation* of this Drug into *China*, not so great as apprehended by *Sir Alexander Ball* as the representation on the subject of our Board even if considered necessary could never be expected to be successful in totally suppressing this *contraband Trade*, while it continues to be profitable to the Parties concerned.

While the Court of Directors were thus agitated over an illicit competition in the opium trade, in which the Company was concerned in the production but not the conveyance, the Chinese were again making ready to fulminate against the conveyance and distribution of the drug. A new Hoppo, in January, 1808, immediately after taking over the seals of his office, issued a mandate to the Hong Merchants (the text of which is given in Appendix S) calling upon them to enforce the existing prohibition of the trade, and declared that, in case of contravention of the law, all opium seized would be confiscated and destroyed, and that the Security Merchant, linguist, and all other persons concerned would be severely dealt with. Of date later than 1729, this is the second order against opium which is recorded in the minutes of the Company's agents.

APPENDIX S

Translation of the Hoppo's Edict prohibiting the Importation of Opium

Edict addressed by the Grand Hoppo of Canton to the Hong Merchants (or Company of Foreign Trade) against the importation of Opium.

We by the Special appointment of the Emperor Hoppo (superintending Judge) of the Imperial Duties of this Province, Member of the Ney-wu-fu (Tribunal of the Department of the Palace) with power over the Military, and the accumulation of ten degrees of Merit in the third Class, and by name *Chang*. Be it known by this Edict to the Hong Merchants, and other Persons of the Chinese Company for Foreign Trade, that it is certain that Opium is a commodity produced in Foreign Countries the contraband importation of which into China has been carried on in Ships likewise foreign—and the original use of it being only medicinally, in process of time, the taste or debauchery of some individuals from among an uncivilized people, has been the means of introducing and spreading the use of it everywhere, to the great injury of the internal population of this Empire.

In the fourth year of Kia-King the Hoppo Kie our predecessor, unanimous in opinion with the Tsong-tou *Ky* laying open to the Emperor the method in which Commercial Transactions between the Foreigners and Hong Merchants are carried on ; in the same memorial they represented to His Majesty that the Opium ought absolutely to be seized upon and forbidden. The which proposal the Emperor judged proper to assent to, holding it to be exceedingly right as appears on the Records. The Foreigners are not ignorant of Opium being a Commodity, the importation of which is rigorously forbidden by the Laws of the Celestial Dynasty of China, and therefore fearing that perhaps it may be intercepted by the Custom Houses, and seized, they in every one of their Ships in which it is imported into the Empire (before entering our Ports) diligently open and separate it, passing it by different packages & Bales : after that leagued with some ill disposed individuals of this Country, they introduce it thro' bye-paths into the interior of the Empire, and notwithstanding the Mandarines have repeatedly detected such underhand speculations in the long run they not been able entirely to prevent them.

We the actual Hoppo, so soon as we take possession of this Office, renew this same prohibition, dispatching orders to all the Officers and subordinates, not only of this Grand Custom House, but likewise to those of the Eastern and Western Ports of Whampoa and other Custom houses of our district, that they should make the most diligent searches after, and seizures of the said Commodity. And now we have received an Edict issued by the Tribunals of the *Tsong-tou* and *Foo-yuen* relative to the same subject of Opium, in which there is intimated to us an order or decree of the Emperor, that all Foreign Vessels at the time of their entrance into our Ports, may undergo an examination respecting this Article, in order to obviate the clandestine introduction of it.

In fulfilment then of this superior decree, we have now ordered to publish and affix Edicts in order every where to intercept and prevent the introduction of Opium; moreover it is our Duty to direct to you also this Edict. The which as soon as you shall receive it, you the Hong Merchants, obeying it with due submission shall immediately communicate it to such of the Supercargoes of foreign Kingdoms—recommending to them, the causing rigidly to publish it in all the Ships of their respective Nations, in order that it may come to the knowledge of all, that Opium is a Commodity prohibited in this Empire, and in fact, that they do not introduce it into its Ports. In full assurance, that if they shall dare to infringe or to elude this Order, as soon as this Article shall be seized by the Officers of the Customs, not only the Opium shall be burnt, but likewise the Hong Merchant who secures the Ship, the Linguist and the Foreigners who have brought it, shall suffer the severest Penalties. Respect then and obey this special Mandate.

In the 12th year of Kia King 21st of the 11th Moon.

LXIV

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF MACAO, 1808

For the season 1808 the Select Committee consisted of the same five members, Messrs. J. W. Roberts (President), T. C. Pattle, W. Bramston, J. F. Elphinstone, and W. Baring.

The books were opened on March 8th with the following balances:

	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury	7,200
Interest bonds of Philippine Company	108,000
Owing by Chinese merchants	2,340,459
Tea in stock, 39,074 piculs	970,117
Anchors in stock	1,439
Factory account	17,169
Credit Balance	3,444,384

During the season the Company loaded for London 15 ships of 17,540 tons. Their import cargoes realized: woollens (invoiced f.o.b. £1,165,814), Tls. 3,572,927; tin, Tls. 186,603; lead, Tls. 163,931; total English products, Tls. 3,923,461; cotton, Tls. 634,126; sandalwood, Tls. 107,055; pepper, Tls. 46,678; total Indian products, Tls. 787,859; total imports on Company's account, Tls. 4,711,320.

The Committee received no silver in the ships, and shipped away to Bengal in convoying frigates a total of 1,870,000 dollars = Tls. 1,342,660. They received into the treasury 305,134 dollars for bills on London at 5*s.* 2*d.* and 365 days; 999,005 dollars for bills on Bengal at 45 and 45 days; 557,042 dollars for certificates; 88,357 dollars under Bombay engagements; total 1,949,538 dollars = Tls. 1,403,667, a net gain of Tls. 61,007. About 60,000 dollars were paid out in connexion with the forces under Admiral Drury. The investment by the 15 ships was invoiced at Tls. 4,017,258.

Abstract of comprador's account:

	Tls.
Charges extraordinary	30,017
Charges on Merchandise	12,232
House rent, repairs and Furniture . . .	16,689
House expenses	19,349
	78,287

The trade particulars during the season were as follows:

		Ships.		*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Silk.*	*Nankeens.*
		No.	Tons.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company .	15	17,540	127,179	152,313	618	200,000
	Country .	39	23,283	218,903	5,080	983	275,000
American . .		8	2,107	2,198	8,128	126	300,000
		62	42,930	348,280	165,521	1,727	775,000

The statistics are very incomplete owing to the disorganization, but there appears to have been no import of ginseng. One American ship brought 35,486 sealskins, another 3,000 otter skins; English ships brought 400 fox skins and 7,000 rabbit skins. The cotton imported realized close on Tls. 5,000,000.

Woollens were imported by the Company to a greater amount than ever before. In addition to these quantities there were 662 pieces of broadcloth and 7,970 pieces of Long Ells, of an invoiced value of 224,000 rupees, in the country trade from Bombay, which gave some trouble. English goods were usually sold by the Company at Bombay by public auction, subject to the general usages of the port; among these was a prohibition of export of Long Ells to Canton, based on a request to that effect in 1776 from the supercargoes in China. In November, 1807, some woollens had been sold by sealed tender; but, in the invitation to tender, the prohibition of export to Canton had by oversight not been made a condition. The Governor and Council learned that some were shipped to Canton, and, under date May 12, 1808, suggested that the irregularity might be overlooked for this once. The merchants buying from the Committee in Canton protested against this competition from importation effected through a side door. The Committee recognized the hardship inflicted on the buyers in Bombay; but feeling that the only safe course was to uphold the prohibition, they decided to forbid the woollens being landed, and to this decision they adhered, although in January the importer obtained

from the Hong Merchants an expression of opinion favourable to a relaxation of the rule.

When the factory moved down to Macao, early in March, Mr. Molony remained behind to wind up affairs as usual, and on April 1st he wrote that the Hong Merchants had been ordered by the Viceroy and the Hoppo to inquire into the possibility of getting rice from India. The particulars were given, the cost delivered at Canton being estimated at about 5 dollars a bag of 120 catties; but no further steps were taken in the matter.

The official House of Agency, started by the Court in 1792, only endured for a few years, and the privilege of acting as agents was restored to the supercargoes (and writers?) below the Committee. In 1808 one such House of Agency was established at Canton, Mr. G. Baring acting as such under the style of Baring and Company. By their general instructions of February 25, 1808, the Court of Directors 'prohibited their Servants from acting as Agents for the disposal of Opium after the 1st October, 1809'. Mr. Baring wrote to the Committee on February 19, 1809, representing that his acting as agent for the proprietors of opium did not interfere with his duty to the Company or endanger its interests; and that if English or Indian merchants at Calcutta could not find reputable English agents in China, they must have recourse to foreigners, which would be against the interests of the Company; and

we beg leave to submit the danger and impolicy of exposing the Opium Market to the control and management of the Portuguese.

If the Court were not aware that their servants acted as agents for consigners of opium, it was

entirely from the nature of the Trade not admitting that publicity accompanying other Business and not from any attempt or wish on our part to conceal our transactions.

During the time they had acted as agents,

we are not aware of our having exposed the Interests of the Company to any unnecessary danger by openly acting in defiance to the Laws of China, for altho' the Article of Opium may nominally be said to be contraband yet as the Mandarins of every description regularly receive their Fees upon it and the deliveries take place in presence of Officers appointed for that purpose it may be rated in common with other

articles of Import and not more particularly exposed to danger from its illegality than they are, unless by an open attempt to evade the customary fees.

They appealed, therefore, to the Court to restore to their servants in China the privilege of acting as agents for opium as for other goods.

The President, Mr. Roberts, was inclined to leave the matter of reconsideration to the decision of the Court without comment from the Committee, but this was objected to and each member recorded his opinion.

Mr. Pattle was of opinion that this connexion with the opium trade threw discredit on the Company, which could not dissever itself from the actions of its own servants ; and declaring that Baring and Co. had coerced a Hong Merchant, Manhop, into engaging in an opium transaction in which he was a heavy loser, he warned the Court that such an action was a real danger to the Company's interests.

Mr. Roberts then felt called upon to express an opinion. He first stated categorically that, in the transaction referred to, Manhop had been in the wrong. Then he declared his opinion that it was a great convenience to private traders that the Company's supercargoes should act as their agents ; that it had been found that the consignment of cotton to ' Native, Persee or Moorish ' agents had been injurious to the trade of Canton ; that opium should be consigned only to English agents, over whose doings the Company could exercise absolute control ; and that the Portuguese would welcome any change which would drive to Macao that part of the trade which now went to Whampoa.

Mr. W. Baring, who, being of the Committee, could have had no connexion with the House of Agency, supported the President in his testimony regarding the affair of Manhop, and expressed his preference for a House of Agency over any other method of conducting the country trade.

Mr. Elphinstone was of opinion that ' the circumstances attending the sale of Opium being as stated in the letter of Messrs. Baring and Co. there exists at present perhaps no particular reason to apprehend the Chinese Government will occasion any embarrassment to the Company's affairs from its being imported. It is however certainly an article the introduction of which into China is illegal and on this ground it is determined by the H'ble Court that their Servants shall have no concern therein. As to the Cotton Agency I am sorry to observe that it has almost entirely passed from the management of the Company's servants.' On the whole he was of opinion that the recompense of the supercargoes was ample, and that private agency should be prohibited altogether.

Mr. Bramston agreed with Mr. Pattle and was ' convinced that the

Company's interests are suffering and have long suffered from private Agencys', and that the privilege should be prohibited.

More silver was sent this season to supply the needs of the Bengal treasury. Under date of February 2, 1808, the Governor-General in Council wrote that they had received 2,250,000 dollars by H.M.S. *Modeste*, and as the Committee had drawn on Bengal to the extent of 1,620,000 dollars, 'there remains a surplus of only Dollars 630,000'; and it was pointed out that, by their own estimate, the Committee, after deducting 'the balance of 1,500,000 taels requisite to be retained in the Treasury', would still have a disposable surplus of 1,601,180 taels or 2,223,861 dollars. 'The wants of the Bengal Government were most urgent,' and the Committee were to send on as large a sum as could be spared. They had already, before closing the previous season, sent a second shipment of 1,140,000 dollars; and in the season 1808, notwithstanding the disturbed state of affairs, they sent to Bengal in three shipments a total of 1,870,000 dollars. Some trouble was occasioned by the unexpected enforcement of a prohibition, which had been invariably relaxed, of the export of sycee. The Committee wished to protest, but the merchants besought them not to raise the question, and moreover not to slip in any of the prohibited silver, as that would involve the merchants in serious difficulties. An episode in connexion with the last shipment indicates a state of relations between highly placed colleagues possible only in Oriental countries. On January 27, 1809,

The Merchants attended early this morning to state that the Hoppo having consented to our shipping the treasure as required would not fulfil his promise and felt now much regret at not being able to permit the shipment in the manner we wished but that he had seen the Tsontoc yesterday who had objected to the measure and suspected the Hoppo to have received a sum of Money for his consent to avoid any suspicion of this nature and the notice that would be attracted by the exportation of a large Sum at one Time the Hoppo desired the Merchants to express his Wish that it might be shipped off in small proportions daily completing the quantity in 3 or 4 days this appeared to us very probably to be a trick of the Merchants to avoid paying the Hoppo the sum he probably wished.

The Committee did not like the subterfuge, but, to make matters easier for the merchants, they agreed to send the treasure in

small boat-loads on three of their ships then loading, and, when the Indiamen dropped down to the Second Bar, then to send the silver in the ships' boats to the frigate at Chuenpi.

At the last conference of the season with the merchants, February 20, 1809, Mowqua expressed again his intention of retiring, which he had announced two years earlier, but had been prevented from carrying out by the *Neptune* affair. After he had spoken fittingly and retired, the President spoke with Puiqua (Howqua) of his position, succeeding by seniority, as he would, to the post of Senior Hong Merchant. Puiqua spoke disparagingly of his own abilities, and said that he had long since decided to retire whenever Mowqua should do so; but he yielded to pressure from Mr. Roberts and consented to consult his friends before making a final decision.

Outside the staffs of the English, Swedish, Dutch, and Spanish Companies, the foreign residents at Macao in April, 1808, were:

American: Mr. Carrington, styling himself Consular Agent and hoisting the national colours;
Sundry private merchants.
Prussian: Mr. Thomas Beale, Consul;
Mr. Chas. Magniac, Vice-Consul;
Mr. Ilberry, mechanic.

Under date February 2, 1808, the Governor-General in Council informed the Committee that

Henry Thomas Colebrooke Esq. has succeeded to the Office of a Member of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

In 1823 Mr. Colebrooke and Sir G. T. Staunton collaborated in London in founding the Royal Asiatic Society.

The second fleet of 1807 sailed on March 9, 1808; and on May 8th, too late to be of use, the Committee received advices from Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, dated *Culloden*, Straits of St. Bernadini, 14 January 1808, that

there now remains no impediment to the ships proceeding with the most perfect safety thro' the Straits of Sunda, as I had already recommended, the whole remaining force of the Dutch in these seas consisting of the *Revolutie* 70, *Pluto* 70, *Kostenau* 68, having been destroyed at Gressee at the Eastern extremity of Java by the Squadron under my command early in December last.

The *Surat Castle* was a single ship, arriving May 24th, and the Committee hoped to complete her lading in time

to proceed by the Eastern route, and in pursuing that track we conceived that the Dutch fleet in these Seas being destroyed, little if any danger was to be apprehended from the Enemies Cruizers.

Owing to the sickly state of her crew she was unable to complete her equipment before the end of August,

when we have no choice but to direct her Commander to pursue the track by the coast of Cochin China.

On September 25th the Committee received Sir E. Pellew's strict injunction, dated August 6th, that the convoy was 'not to take the route of the Straits of Sunda on any consideration'. The choice of routes to be followed in time of war was not an easy task.

The convoying ship arriving on September 25th was H.M.S. *Lion*, Captain Henry Heathcote, regarding whom the Committee

received a letter from Mr. Secretary Ramsay directing an allowance at the rate of £500 ℔ ann. to the Captain and £250 to the Wardroom of that ship the said allowance to commence at the period of the *Lions* arrival in the Longitude of Madagascar and to cease 2 months after her quitting China.

This was the customary allowance paid by the Company to King's ships engaged on convoy duty.

When the direct ships arrived at the end of November, the situation was such that they must be ready to leave the river at short notice; and when nearly fully laden they could cross Second Bar only on spring tides. As the ships by way of Bombay had already discharged their cotton, orders were sent to tranship some of the bales of woollens from the direct ships into the Bombay ships. The seven direct ships had then a draft of water,

the lightest (*Alnwick Castle*)	forward	22 ft. 0 in.,	aft	24 ft. 1 in.
the heaviest (*Canton*)	,,	23 ft. 6 in.,	,,	24 ft. 6 in.
on even keel (*Exeter*)	,,	23 ft. 5 in.,	,,	23 ft. 8 in.

The commander of the *Canton* reported, after discharging 1,270 bales, that his ship drew forward 24 ft. 0 in., aft 22 ft. 3 in., and the commander of the *Exeter*, after discharging 2,173 bales, that she drew 18 ft. on an even keel. The President was officially informed that no ship drawing more than 20 ft. could cross Second Bar in safety on all tides without a pilot.

In the general European War which was now raging, the belligerents hit out blindly on all sides. The Spanish authorities at Manila in March, 1808, refused to grant clearance to a Portuguese ship intended for Calcutta; and in the same month H.M.S. *Fox* and *Caroline* had entered Manila Bay and captured a few country ships and two gunboats. On January 2, 1809, the American ship *Beaver* arrived, bringing news that

peace had been concluded between England and Spain early in June and that all apprehensions of a rupture between Great Britain and America had ceased.

The French on their side were as active within the limits of their powers. On June 27, 1808, the American ship *Arthur* arrived,

last from the Isle of France and reports that two French frigates arrived there from France bringing orders to seize all Portuguese ships Portugal being at war with France . . . two vessels under Portuguese Flags had been condemned at the Isle of France. An earlier arrival reports that '23 sail of English Vessels prizes to the French Cruizers had reached the Isle of France'.

The *Beaver*, referred to above, was reported as coming from New York and clearing with a lading for that port; but the action between the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake* had occurred in June, 1807, and the Embargo Act, passed in consequence in December, was not repealed until the spring of 1809, while the *Beaver* must have left New York in the summer of 1808, when all sailings were prohibited. The effect of the embargo on American trade at Canton is shown on the table on p. 77; and even the little trade shown there was most probably enemy belligerent cargo covered by the neutral flag against British cruisers. In the season 1807 we had the British navy impressing seamen from American ships at Whampoa, and in 1808 that navy is active in enforcing the British interpretation of the rights of neutrals in time of war.

The American ship *Jefferson*, 235 tons, sailed from Amsterdam in September, 1807, but was detained by British cruisers and carried into the Downs; she sailed thence on November 2nd and arrived at Macao on April 4, 1808. She sailed then to Batavia and returned to Macao on July 10th,

anchoring in the Roads at a late hour in the evening, but hearing of the (H.M.S.) *Dédaigneuse* being in the Taypa immediately weighed and stood up the River.

She is next heard of coming from Manila early in December and taken prize by H.M.S. *Dover*, being carried first into Macao Roads, thence to Lintin or Chuenpi. The Hong Merchant Conseequa then put in a claim, on behalf of his brother-in-law, to 'upwards of 200 chests' of silver, containing between 50,000 and 60,000 dollars, which he was bringing from Manila in the *Jefferson* and which the English frigate had taken out of the ship. Without in any degree supporting the claim Mr. Roberts referred it to Admiral Drury, whose reply, dated Macao, December 20th, was brief and to the point:

In reply to your Letter enclosing a Paper respecting the *Jefferson* Prize to the *Dover* I am to acquaint you the Law of England is just must be respected and will take its Course.

A month later, on January 23, 1809, the Hoppo directed the Hong Merchants to inform the English Chief that

he had received information of an American ship having been detained by the men of war within Lintin which could not be permitted.

Mr. Roberts said that he had no jurisdiction, and advised the Hoppo to send a letter on the subject to the senior naval officer. The Hoppo then sent a mandate addressed to the President, which Mr. Roberts handed back, and subsequently deputed Mowqua to say that he declined to write to Captain Heathcote, but would be much obliged if Mr. Roberts would write privately on the subject.

On March 27th the supercargoes of the Royal Philippine Company, on their arrival from Manila, delivered for transmission to Admiral Drury a letter from Señor Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, in which the Governor informed the Admiral of 'the happy event of peace having been concluded' between England and Spain,[1] which had been signed on July 4, 1808, and proclaimed at Manila on February 28, 1809, and added:

this circumstance interests much the Royal Company of the Philippines, inasmuch as on board the American Ship *Jefferson* proceeding from thence and detained in these roads [Macao] by H.B.M. frigate *Dover* on the 4th of Dec. last there was of property of the Royal Company the sum of 252,000 Dollars and sums the property of Spanish individuals with the amount of which we are still unacquainted.

[1] Sir John Moore at Corunna, January, 1809.

The Committee could do no more at the moment than to promise to transmit the letter to Admiral Drury, then in India.

It had been intended that the surveying cruisers *Discovery* and *Antelope* might be utilized, if the opportunity offered, to put down piracy in the waters around Canton; and the *Retreat* had been sent out in the season 1807 for the same purpose; but the Chinese had not been willing to avail themselves of their services. The depredations of the pirates continued on a great scale, however, and in the middle of July, 1808, the Heungshan Hien sent a message to Mr. Roberts, then at Macao in the Heungshen jurisdiction, asking for the co-operation of the two cruisers; but the President would pay no attention to such an informal mode of appeal. On being pressed he said that an official application must be made, and that in such a case he hoped that H.M.S. *Dédaigneuse* might undertake the task. A few days later the Heungshan Hien came in person to press his request, and was told that the Company and the navy had every wish to assist in the matter, but that there must be a formal request in writing. On July 23rd the Hoppo inquired of Mr. Metcalfe, who was at Canton, if the Committee would co-operate in the suppression of piracy, adding that, if the answer was in the affirmative, he would urge the Viceroy to make the request in proper form. The Viceroy so far lowered his pride as to say that, though he could not send a written request and thereby discredit his own fleet which he was preparing, yet he would be pleased if the frigate and the cruisers would act in conjunction with his fleet. This was communicated to Captain William Dawson of the *Dédaigneuse*, and on August 2nd that ship with the two cruisers sailed on a cruise to the eastward. The cruisers returned on the 13th, no pirates having been discovered; and it does not appear that any further steps were taken towards co-operation. If any steps had been taken, they would have been withdrawn on the arrival, on September 21st, of Admiral Drury and his force.

In 1802 the Government General at Calcutta had obtained a very good survey of the attitude which would be assumed by the Chinese authorities towards any attempted occupation of Macao; even as late as April 23, 1807, Sir G. H. Barlow as Governor-General in Council, writing both to the Select Com-

mittee and to Sir E. Pellew on a proposed expedition to check the operations of the Ladrones, stated that

> the jealous and suspicious character of the Chinese Government leads us to doubt whether the arrival of an English Naval Armament without the previous consent of the Chinese Government, would not be highly offensive to that Government.

This opinion had been impressed on the Government General by the Committee in 1802, and was apparently still held in 1807. On January 27, 1808, the Select Committee record in their Secret Department:

> Information is stated to have been received from a quarter which entitles the report to credit that the Government of France have intimated to the Court of Portugal the necessity of placing Macao in a more respectable state of defence than it is at present and in consequence a reenforcement of Troops are expected the ensuing Season as any suggestion of this nature from that quarter can only be with a view to harass our valuable trade to this place it is deemed of importance to notice the rumour and shall endeavour to procure further information on the subject which shall be communicated to the Hon'ble Secret Committee and the Governor General.

In transmitting this report, on March 8th, to the Secret Committee and to Lord Minto, the Committee ventured to reassure both:

> Should it appear expedient to counteract any intentions of the Enemy by anticipating them in the possession of or in protecting Macao for the Portuguese, should the Government of Portugal be induced to sanction either of these measures . . . in our opinion neither embarrassment to our affairs or any serious opposition are to be apprehended on the part of the Chinese Government. From the excessive corruption and weakness that exists in this provincial Government, all instructions or attempts to suppress the Ladrones are either evaded or are nugatory, and we believe they would most cheerfully see Macao in the possession of the English from an expectation that the Pirates would no longer be allowed to infest the Coast.

In this opinion the Committee were undoubtedly wrong. From the depredations of the pirates, the provincial authorities would lose credit; but piratical doings could be minimized, the slenderest success could be magnified into victory, heads could be reported to be those of leaders, and piracy was a problem of domestic politics. The intrusion of the foreigner, on the other hand, could not be concealed and the discredit of the authorities

could not be diminished; and the opinion of the Committee in 1802 was sounder than that of 1808. This later opinion was repeated on August 16th, in writing to the Governor-General:

> From various accounts that have lately reached us we have every reason to believe that a British Force is on its passage for the protection of Macao, should this be the case it may be satisfactory to your Lordship to be informed that, in the event of the expedition being furnished with orders from Goa for their reception here, we have no reason to apprehend any opposition on the part of the Portuguese Government, but have every reason to believe that any objections or impediments on the part of the Chinese will be of a temporary nature.

Such a belief was perhaps natural, since just before that date the *Dédaigneuse* and the cruisers had been engaged in a search for pirates, undertaken at the request of the Chinese authorities. Writing to the Secret Committee on August 30th, having as yet only unofficial reports, they again express the same opinion, but add:

> Convinced that any application to the Chinese for permission to land the Troops would meet with a positive refusal, we have considered it advisable to keep secret our belief that the Expedition is coming to this place.

Even before this they had taken steps to influence the minds of the authorities and to 'spread opinions among the inhabitants of Macao and Vicinity favorable to our cause', and for this work of propaganda they selected Goqua, who had been head linguist and now aimed at being a Hong Merchant. He was a native of Macao, and when he joined the Committee there he gave but a gloomy view of the disposition and sentiments of the people.

Rear-Admiral William O'Brien Drury arrived in Macao Road on September 11th with a small detachment of 300 troops from Madras. He sent no officer ahead to prepare his way, had no instructions from Goa to the Portuguese authorities, and found Portuguese and Chinese alike opposed to his plans. The military events of the next four months are not fully recorded in the supercargoes' reports; the best commentary on them is found in the report to the Secret Committee of March 3, 1809, given in Appendix T, a more succinct summary having been sent on January 11th, as follows:

> Under all the circumstances of the case we thought it would be advisable to land the Troops, altho' from want of orders from Goa the

consent of the Portuguese was forced, and the Mandarine of the District showed much inclination to oppose, we hoped however when the measure was accomplished that their representation to Canton would be moderate; the Troops therefore that arrived with Admiral Drury were landed on the 21st of September, and the subsequent detachment from Bengal on the 22nd of October; the most decided opposition to their stay was experienced from both Chinese and Portuguese, by the latter every malicious representation was made, the Trade was stopped the commencement of October, and in December all supplies of provisions to the Ships and Troops and Macao threatened with attack. From this we should have apprehended little, but finding the Inhabitants in danger of starving, and no hope of reconciling the Chinese to the measure, and that longer delay would probably destroy the Trade for the Season, we were compelled to consent to withdraw the troops, which being done trade commenced on the 26 December.

By February 27th the Governor-General had seen the return of the Bengal troops under the command of Major M. Weguelin and had received the Select Committee's dispatches up to December 22nd, and was impelled to express his opinion in Council on one phase of the events at Macao:

We cannot at the same time suspend the declaration of our opinion upon one point of the late proceedings in China, the nature of which will not we imagine be affected by any subsequent explanations. We allude to the measure at one time in contemplation of endeavouring to intimidate the Viceroy of Canton into a compliance with the requisitions of Admiral Drury, by the advance of a Military Force and by proceeding to bombard the Town. We can have no hesitation in stating that a measure of such extremity was inconsistent with the principles of our Instructions, and that it was never in our contemplation to suggest the prosecution of actual Hostilities, with a view either to obtain the object of the Expedition, or to resent the disappointment of it. We therefore highly approve the ultimate resolution to abandon the proposed measure, and we concur entirely in the judicious observations on that subject contained in Major Weguelin's letter to your address of the 4th December. . . . We concur entirely in opinion that the conduct of Major Weguelin and of the Officers and Troops under his command has afforded a most meritorious example of prudence and forbearance under the most trying circumstances of repeated insult, outrage and provocation on the part of the Chinese.

The Chinese did not recognize any British authority in China except the English Taipan, the President of the Select Committee. Powerless to coerce Admiral Drury and the forces under his orders, they early in October stopped the English

trade until such time as the English forces should have withdrawn from Chinese territory. The landing of the Bengal troops increased the tension. The Viceroy refused to meet Admiral Drury or to recognize him in any way; and on November 21st the Admiral ordered the withdrawal of British shipping from the river.

> Having received directions from Admiral Drury to desire that all British Subjects should quit Canton in 48 hours from the time of the Notice being made public and that all English vessels should be prepared to move down the River

the President sent instructions to Captain Miliken Craig, senior commander (commodore) of the Company's ships, to get ready to move the ships from Whampoa without delay,

> as the refusal of the Chinese Government to listen to Admiral Drury's most friendly advances will compel him to command justice.

Admiral Drury simultaneously sent corresponding orders to the ships, but every commander wrote at once to the President that

> they conceived they could not consistently with the Orders they received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors obey the Directions of Admiral Drury without the sanction of the Committee.

Had all been going well with the gallant Admiral, he would have made short work of such resistance to his orders. On the 24th the Committee took steps to lighten the deeply laden direct ships, which, two months after arrival, still had their import cargoes on board. On November 29th it is recorded:

> Reports being in circulation that the Chinese intend to attempt the destruction of the Shipping at Whampoa by Fire, Capt. Craig thought it would be a necessary measure of precaution to station two Boats to row Guard about the head of the Fleet from Eight o'clock in the Evening until Sunrise which will accordingly be adopted.

On the 23rd the staff were still in the factory at Canton, but either on that day or soon after, certainly before the 26th, in obedience to Admiral Drury's orders they left Canton, going to Macao, except the President, who, with one secretary, took up his residence on board the *Walmer Castle* at Whampoa. Thereafter he exercised dictatorial powers over the Company's affairs, making prompt decisions in every emergency, and generally

making wise decisions. It is true that the compilation of the Diary was under his control; but it was a time of great strain and the Diary consists of little more than copies of letters received and sent; moreover, after the crisis was over, his acts were submitted in detail to his colleagues of the Select Committee and confirmed by them.

On December 3rd Mr. Roberts received a round robin signed by twelve of the fourteen commanders of the Company's ships, in which, 'in the absence of your Council', they expressed their opinion on 'the present critical situation', representing that

as the Chinese Government have unexpectedly evinced every disposition to continue their first system of stopping the Trade and systematically opposing every measure heretofore adopted and now following them up by warlike preparations which may finally lead to Hostilities, place us in a most critical Situation and involve us in a serious War and totally exclude all further amicable Negotiations, We therefore beg leave now to say that if any pacific Overture could be offered to the Chinese Government consistent with the British Character it might lead to a speedy and amicable Adjustment of the present difficulties.

They then pointed out the extreme danger of moving heavily laden ships down the river without pilots. This was not very helpful to Mr. Roberts, and, in fact, much of his time while at Whampoa was spent in settling squabbles between his commanders, and especially the resistance of some to the orders of the commodore.

On December 8th, the ships being still at Whampoa, it was reported that orders had been given that all English, if any, still to be found at Canton were to be killed; also

the Compradors could no longer attend the Ships in consequence of the orders from Canton nor have any made their appearance this morning neither have China boats of any description approached the Ship.

Some of the country ships dropped below First Bar, but, for several reasons, the Company's ships all remained at Whampoa, expectant of better days.

Admiral Drury in his encounter with Oriental passive resistance was defeated without the loss of a man on either side, and in the eyes of the Chinese he must have appeared to have saved all except honour. He had come to Macao with the most benevolent intentions: his object was to aid the Portuguese

in defending Macao against the French—this aid was rejected both by the Portuguese, tenants of the port, and by the Chinese, lords of the soil. The Viceroy of Canton protested and ordered the intruders to evacuate Macao; and he reported the invasion to the Government at Peking. The Emperor's orders came down and were communicated to Mr. Roberts on December 4th, and transmitted by him to Admiral Drury. On the 10th the Admiral made an agreement with the Chinese authorities for the evacuation of Macao; embarkation of the troops began on the 15th and was completed on the 20th; trade was reopened for the country ships on the 24th, and for the Company's ships on the 26th of December.

As soon as the evacuation was agreed to, Mr. Roberts wrote a respectful petition to the Viceroy, who thereupon ordered the trade to be reopened; but on the 27th the merchants came to Whampoa and requested officially that for his petition as handed in, he would allow another form to be substituted and sent by the Viceroy to Peking. Mr. Roberts refused until he should be provided with his own translation of the amended form, for which he sent to his colleagues of the Select Committee, who were still at Macao. The translation came back on January 1st with the unanimous opinion of the Committee that the substitution should not be permitted; and at several interviews with the merchants Mr. Roberts maintained that he could not agree to the phrase importing that 'the troops were from our ignorance of the Laws unreasonably landed', nor could he consent to 'designate the Admiral by characters the meaning of which it would be impossible to understand'. Ultimately, by the aid of Mr. Manning a form was found acceptable to the Committee and to the merchants.

The Viceroy was cashiered and degraded two steps in rank for failure to prevent the invasion of a port under his jurisdiction, and the same fate befell the Governor. This made their subordinates more alert, and on January 3rd

it was reported to be the intention of the Mandarins to issue a Chop contracting the limited Space which was now our boundary at Canton, and also to restrict us in the number of Servants . . . the Compradore was called upon to give Security that no Sycee Silver should be sold or exported by Europeans.

Against these acts, and more especially against the general tendency manifested by them, Mr. Roberts thought it necessary to protest. He then wrote a letter to the Hoppo, which Mr. Parry gave to that official the next day when he came to measure the ships; but some days later it was recorded that the servants of the factory were still terrorized. On the 9th the merchants, meeting the Committee in conference,

delivered the Hoppo's reply to the letter addressed to him by Mr. Roberts on the 3rd. The Hoppo declined all personal communication but that what we wished to say could be made known to the Merchants as usual who would deliver our Letters and denied that any alteration had been made on the contrary that trade had been restored and would be continued in the same manner as formerly.

The Select Committee re-joined their President at Canton on January 8th, and the first business to be dealt with by the full Committee was the arrest by the Chinese of Padre Roderigo, who had acted as interpreter to Admiral Drury.

Reports having been made to us that Padre Roderigo had been seized shortly after his landing at Macao, we felt called upon by every Principle of Honour and Duty to use our utmost exertions to obtain his relief [? release] and as the mere representation of the Business thro' the Merchants we had reason to believe would be attended with little effect we considered that some means of making it their interest to exert themselves was immediately necessary, and that this would be most effectually done by stopping all commercial communications which would also be showing in the strongest manner our detestation of the Treachery. Should measures be pressed to extremity against the Padre we conceived that this measure must be ultimately adopted and that we should perhaps save Time by having recourse to it at this early stage of the Business when it might be got over with greater ease than at a more advanced stage.

The merchants were informed of this decision, orders were sent to the ships, and letters were written to the Governor of Macao and to Captain Heathcote of H.M.S. *Phaeton*. Two days later, on January 10th, the merchants informed the Committee officially that Padre Roderigo had been released. At the same time Captain Heathcote, at Chuenpi, wrote to the Committee expressing his opinion with a sailor's frankness:

I must lament the Steps you have taken as subversive of the Arrangement which has so lately occurred under the sanction of Rear Adm'l Drury (when in command of a large naval and military Force) for the

restoration of our Trade with the Chinese after forfeiting it by an infraction of their Laws. And I beg leave to recommend as the only efficacious Recourse that every private and reconciliatory means be immediately recurred to for obtaining the Release of the said Padre in order that our Commerce with this Nation may speedily be re-established without the necessity of retracting that threat by which you have again resigned it. . . . Believe me Gentlemen I feel personally much interested in the Fate of a Man whom you describe as deserving so well of us all, but can see no probable effect of coercive measures in this instance but that of involving ourselves in a War with China and the expulsion of the Portuguese from Macao.

To this pacific injunction from the man of war, the men of peace were able to reply with the accomplished result; and on the 15th the merchants brought a formal assurance from the Viceroy that no further steps should be taken against Padre Roderigo or any others of those who had supported the English cause. The Governor of Macao, Senhor Lucas d'Alvarenga, expressed his grateful thanks to the Committee for having so promptly obtained the release of one who, with the consent of the Portuguese authorities, had 'attended Admiral Drury during his stay in Canton River'. Padre Roderigo had, however, made himself obnoxious, not only to the Chinese, but also to the anti-English party among the Portuguese; the Committee therefore decided to assist him to proceed to Brazil to join the Portuguese Regent, and further in consideration of the fact that

the severities and the many inconveniences he has suffered added to his being probably under the necessity of quitting Macao in consequences of these Services, together with the fidelity and attachment which he has for many years shewn to our Interests, entitle him most justly to our warmest acknowledgements, . . . we have determined on granting him the sum of 10,000 Dollars as a reward therefor.

He and a Senhor Antonio Soares Cid, who was also involved in this persecution, were in addition granted free passages to London.

Writing on April 11th to Lord Minto (see Appendix T) the Committee noted that the Governor-General was ready to approve of withdrawing the troops. After the release of Padre Roderigo there was no further interruption to trade, and the fleet was dispatched on March 3rd; but it was necessary for the Committee to re-establish relations with the Chinese officials. The new Viceroy went to Macao on May 6th to investigate the

circumstances of the recent expedition, and the Committee prepared a written statement of the causes which led to it and of their desire to do nothing to cause uneasiness to the Chinese authorities. At Macao the Viceroy could waive ceremony to an extent which was not possible at Canton, and on the 7th he condescended to receive Mr. Roberts, accompanied by Mr. Plowden, and to accept the memorial from his hands. The Viceroy was curious to know why, after having traded with the Chinese so many years and received so many favours from them, the English should suddenly bring an armed force to take possession of Chinese soil; but he was most benignant, read the memorial with interest and approval, and, metaphorically, patted them on the shoulder and bade them be good children in the future. The next day it was found (as it was reported to Lord Minto on September 19th) that

> as it was necessary that the memorial should be transmitted to Pekin, an address in a different form was recommended, and desirous of conciliating as far as practicable, the requisition was complied with. Upon which we were promised that such representation should be made to the Emperor, as would entirely remove all unfavourable impressions. In this however we were either intentionally deceived or from subsequent representation the Viceroy was induced to alter his sentiments; as a report was made intimating the necessity of further enquiries, which occasioned an order from the Emperor not to admit the Hon'ble Company's Ships until such had been made and reported to Pekin. This order was apparently intended for English Ships generally, but several Country Ships having been admitted to Whampoa before its receipt, it became necessary to confine its application to those of the Company. In the hope of avoiding the detention thus threatened to our Ships, we were for some months engaged in a tiresome correspondence with the Viceroy, urging him to forward to Pekin a memorial in our favour. This however was not complied with until a few days before the arrival of the Ships, and the receipt of a favourable reply on the 25th October terminated all difficulties.

And so was finally settled an affair from which none of the parties concerned appeared to emerge with much credit. The Chinese pursued their customary policy of seclusion and exclusion, which the world is agreed in condemning; but it must be remembered in their favour that Macao was Chinese, and not Portuguese; the soil never had been alienated, and the Portuguese had no more than the usufruct. In departing from the

THE PRAYA GRANDE, MACAO

(*a*) from the north; (*b*) from the south

policy of his predecessor Mr. Roberts had postulated an order from the Captain-General at Goa directing the Portuguese authorities at Macao to receive the English troops and co-operate with them; but Lord Minto sent the expedition in haste to forestall the French, who had sent an expeditionary force to Batavia, and he omitted to make at Goa a previous communication of his intention, and the new Governor of Macao arrived on September 25th without orders to co-operate; he was thus driven to oppose the English and to join hands in appearance with the Dezembargador and the Senate—in these years always jealous and apprehensive of British greed. Whether Admiral Drury or Mr. Roberts was responsible for proposing coercive measures does not appear from the record of the Committee's transactions, but Auber attributes it entirely to Mr. Roberts;[1] that does not accord with the fact that the order to quit Canton on November 21st came from Admiral Drury, but it does accord with the fact that the Court of Directors recalled Mr. Roberts. On the soundness of Lord Minto's condemnation of the proposal there can be no doubt; and there can be no doubt that, however much humiliated Admiral Drury may have been, Mr. Roberts had to descend much farther into the vale of humiliation.

The season did not end without some exhibitions of rowdyism, none very serious, on the part of the sailors of the Indiamen, who were kept in port, all of them more than five months, and three of them for eight months. One episode on January 31st, which might have been serious, was an attack by Chinese coolies on an English sailor in one of the factories; no one was killed, but the affair was complicated by the fact that Chinese were detaining or concealing some sailors, deserters from the same ship. On February 3rd an officer of the *Royal George*, returning from Chuenpi with two sailors in the ship's yawl, was attacked by pirates; they were well armed, and escaped without injury. The attack was made almost at the Bogue, an indication of the small respect in which the Chinese troops and marines were held by the pirates.

[1] Peter Auber, *China, an Outline*, &c., p. 234.

APPENDIX T

Extract from Select Committee's Report to Secret Committee dated March 3, 1809

Upon the first report of an Expedition being destined for Macao, the several circumstances that might arise from the landing of the Troops, presented themselves. The very slender tie by which the intercourse is held, notwithstanding the extent, and value of our dealings with the Chinese, and which is at present liable, even from acts of a trivial nature, to be interrupted and suspended, it was considered that we would be justified in submitting to some inconvenience, from a hope of being thereby enabled to place our trade on a basis more firm, secure, and respectable.

From the successes of the French in Europe, the exertions of their newly arrived Force in Java, and possessing the controul in Manilla, it did not appear improbable, that the report mentioned in our Secret Proceedings of the 27th January, and noticed to your Honble Committee in our letter of the 9th March, might shortly be verified, especially as this was to be accomplished now with facility by the introduction of either Officers or a garrison from Portugal.

Any addition to the Hostility at present in existence at Macao, we cannot but consider it our duty to guard against, when nominally our Friend and Ally, the representations either of the Senate or of Individuals, altho necessarily conducted with great caution and secrecy, we have sufficient proof have considerable effect on the Credulity, Timidity and Jealousy, of the Chinese and their Government. Should any change of circumstances authorize a public profession of Hostility, and their measures become more systematic and avowed, we cannot but apprehend much and serious embarrassment to our Affairs.

On these considerations we determined on the Troops being landed, and were sanguine in our expectations, that after a time, the Chinese would become reconciled to the measure. On the 11th September Admiral Drury arrived with the first Division of nearly 300 Men, but to our regret and disappointment without either Order or Instructions to the Government of Macao, for their reception. This omission was taken immediate advantage of, and from a principle of duty the Governor declared it his intention to resist to the utmost, exciting the fears and alarming

the jealousy of the Chinese Government, and People; the Portuguese were aware was the only way by which we were to be assailed, and during the discussion for the peaceable admission of the Troops, every effort was made to employ this to advantage.

After an interview [interval ?] of several days spent in fruitless negociation, it became either necessary to relinquish the attempt entirely, or to land without further delay; as a possible Order against this was daily expected from Canton.

The landing took place on the 21st September, and without accident or disorder, and nothing speaks more strongly the discipline and good conduct employed on this service, than from the hour of their arrival until the day of their departure, no act of a Serious nature occurred, altho from numberless insults and aggestions that were so frequently offered, any retaliation could not have excited our surprize.

Impelled by his fears and distracted by the numberless and exaggerated reports, the Viceroy appears to have made a hasty representation of the Affair to Pekin; this certainly was contrary to our expectation, from our being aware that he became personally involved thereby, and the event has justified our belief, as he has fallen under the severe displeasure of the Emperor, has lost his rank, and has been removed from his situation of Tsontoc. An Imperial Order relative thereto will be found in our proceedings in this department under date the 28th February.

Until an answer should arrive no decisive Steps could be taken by the Canton Government. Your Honble Committee will observe that Messrs. Roberts and Pattle while in Canton made use of every argument to the Merchants, and repeated and personal exertions to procure a direct communication with the Government, as afterwards Admiral Drury, all however without effect.

Early in December an answer was returned from Pekin, and on the 4th Mr. Roberts was informed by the Mandarins deputed for that purpose to Whampoa, that it was the Emperor's Order that the Troops should be withdrawn: that in case of refusal, they would be driven out by force, but if withdrawn that all former relations of Amity and Commerce should be renewed.

Apprehensive a longer perseverance might lead to Acts of Hostility, and satisfied we had given the measure a full and fair trial, it was determined that the Troops should be withdrawn, and they embarked on the 20th and trade recommenced on the 26 December.

Since this renewal of our commerce we have not experienced any particular inconvenience. Many reports have been in circulation of new Orders and regulations respecting foreigners

being in contemplation, we believe however without foundation ; and nothing has yet occurred beyond the publishing of overbearing and insolent Edicts respecting our Nation and Soldiers. We cannot conclude this subject without suggesting to your Honble. Committee, that some communication should be made from His Majesty to Pekin : how this is to be effected, we cannot intrude an Opinion, but we believe whether the communication be made by letter or Embassy, the Act will be beneficial to the Affairs of the Honourable Company.

EXTRACT FROM SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT TO LORD MINTO, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, DATED APRIL 11, 1809

MY LORD,

We have had the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's advices of the 31st December last, and have derived the highest satisfaction from the flattering terms in which your Lordship has been pleased to express your approbation of our conduct in concert with Rear Admiral Drury, on the arrival of the Armament under his direction at Macao.

We have had the honor to submit to your Lordship's consideration, a detailed statement of our proceedings on that important and delicate occasion, and trust that they will generally prove deserving of your Lordship's approbation : altho the termination has been so contrary to our wishes or to what we had reason to hope, at the commencement of the Negociations.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that we learn by the advices to which we have now the honor to reply, that placed in the critical conjuncture of having to choose between the suspension of the commerce between England and China, and the removal of the British Troops from Macao, under the most mortifying circumstances, by determining upon the latter measure we have acted in the manner, deemed most prudent by your Lordship.

PETITION OF SELECT COMMITTEE TO VICEROY OF CANTON, DECEMBER 1808

(Original)

Roberts the Taypan of the English and others in this way present themselves openly and conforming to your superior will humbly requesting you to extend your favor and kindness to them.

The Circumstance of England having been long in alliance with Portugal for many generations was the cause of having sent a few Hundred English Soldiers to Macao where they disembarked for the sole purpose of aiding and protecting Macao and the Commerce that so long subsisted between England and

China and in this manner to avoid mischief and loss from the French.

Further the English troops remained in Macao subject to the Command of the Portuguese Captain and now in obedience to the Commands of your Excellency imparting the sacred will of the Emperor which permits not English Soldiers to remain at Macao and from this motive alone our Captain General conforming to the sacred Will has ordered the Soldiers to withdraw and to re-imbark therefore I now humbly beseech your Excellency (as you have promised before in your Edicts) with all possible haste to permit the opening of the Shops and Trade as it has been formerly conducted and I shall thankfully acknowledge your infinite kindness.

That you may direct according to this Petition it is addressed to the golden presence of your Excellency.

(As proposed by Merchants)

This presented by the Taypan Roberts and others of the English supplicating the Tsontoc and Hoppo two high personages in the golden presence of their ears, to state clearly that conforming to their superior will and praying for kindness to be shewn to them the Trade which the English have carried on to Canton has lasted many years, that they never have desired to commit any irregular Act, the English Soldiers arrived some Time since at Macao really and truly because the English and Portuguese have been long allied and because it was apprehended that Macao would be attacked by the French then Troops came to protect that place as well as the English Merchant Ships, and because they were ignorant of the Laws and Customs of the sacred Empire they most unreasonably disembarked. Now in obedience to the notice given by your Excellency which has made known to us the sacred Ordinance of the great Emperor which does not permit English Soldiers to remain at Macao then the English Mandarine *O Mal O* (meaning Admiral) conforming to the sacred orders instantly directed his Soldiers to retire to embark and to return to their Kingdom. Now we humbly request the Tsontoc that he would immediately order the Shops to be opened and permit our Commerce as formerly for this purpose this Address is presented or offered to your golden presence that you may be pleased to order and grant as it is asked.

In the 13 Year of Kia King on the 11 Month ( ) day.

LXV

THE SUPPRESSION OF PIRACY, 1809

THE Select Committee for the season 1809 was composed of Messrs. J. W. Roberts (President), T. C. Pattle, W. Bramston, and J. F. Elphinstone. The fifth member, Mr. W. Baring, had gone in the spring to England. The books were opened on March 2nd with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in the treasury	4,530	
Anchors in stock	1,439	
Tea in stock, 44,590 piculs	1,098,931	
Owing by Chinese merchants	2,847,652	
		3,952,552
Dr. to Factory account	10,396	
Owing to Chinese merchants	22,337	
		32,733
Credit Balance		3,919,819

Of the Chinese debtors there was owing from Mowqua Tls. 541,856, from Puiqua Tls. 316,967, from Chunqua Tls. 486,232, and from Conseequa Tls. 670,769, representing the value of the imports which had not been distributed until January in the case of the woollens and March for the tin and lead.

During the season the Company loaded for London 13 ships of 15,413 tons; in addition one, the *Cuffnells*, was surveyed and found unfit to take a return cargo. The import cargoes of 14 ships realized: woollens (invoiced at £921,891 f.o.b.) Tls. 2,843,739, tin (£66,006) Tls. 208,271, lead (£48,709) Tls. 146,127, total English products Tls. 3,198,137; cotton (520,069 rupees) Tls. 234,194, pepper (90,241 rupees plus 56,091 dollars) Tls. 39,929, sandalwood (72,182 pagodas) Tls. 118,611, total Indian produce Tls. 392,734; total imports on Company's own account, Tls. 3,590,871.

The Committee sent away in the frigates specie to Indian ports as follows: to Bengal 95,656 dollars, to Madras 1,450,129

dollars, to Penang 18,733 dollars, total 1,564,518 dollars = Tls. 1,126,553. They took into the treasury 243,537 dollars for bills on London at 5*s.* 2*d.* and 365 days; 574,847 dollars for bills on Bengal at 45 and 45 days; 323,144 dollars for certificates; 488,890 dollars for freight and under Indian engagements; total 1,630,418 dollars = Tls. 1,173,901. There was thus a net receipt of silver into the treasury of Tls. 47,348. The investment by the 13 ships was invoiced at Tls. 3,809,824. The comprador's account was abstracted as follows:

	Tls.
Provision account	18,411
Furniture ,, ...	5,590
House rent and repairs	8,299
Charges on Merchandise	5,871
Charges Extraordinary	29,547
	67,718

The Committee also sent supplies to St. Helena as for many years past, invoiced at Tls. 14,325; and to the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town), as usual since the reoccupation, invoiced at Tls. 64,018.

The trade particulars of the season were as follows:

		Ships.		*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Silk.*	*Nankeen.*
		No.	Tons.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company .	14	16,613	51,647	185,258	413	120,000
	Country .	26	17,500	146,184	3,265	854	110,000
American . .		37	12,470	22,006	73,028	14	1,000,000
Spanish . . .		2	700	..	..	172	15,000
		79	47,283	219,837	261,551	1,453	1,245,000

Of the American ships 27 are recorded to have brought 2,896,500 dollars in specie, and one of the Spanish 150,000 dollars. Of ginseng American ships brought 1,362 piculs, English none; of sealskins, American 36,824, English 3,280; of other fine furs, American 48,470, English 6,680; of rabbit skins, English 8,300.

Sycee is applied in the records to silver 100 fine, and is usually termed 'pure silver'; but the term seems in this season to be applied to different degrees of fineness; or, in the alternative, dollars are quoted at fluctuating rates in the market. Moreover new (i. e. unchopped) dollars command a premium of 4 per mill over chopped dollars. Here is the account of

317,210 dollars received from the agents of Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett & Co.:

		Tls.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Nov. 1.	New dollars		50,000	
	Premium on new dollars 4 ℔ 1,000		200	
				50,200
,, 10.	Sycee or Pure Silver	72,000		
	Premium at 3 ℔ Cent as agreed	2,160		
	(Tls. 718 = 1,000 dollars)	74,160	= 103,287	
	Mandarins for shipping off 18 Chts. at 8 Doll. ℔ Cht.		144	
				103,431
,, 25.	Sycee or Pure Silver	108,000		
	Deduct for inferiority of touch at 3 m. ℔ 100 Tls.[1]	324		
		107,676		
	Premium at 6 ℔ Cent as agreed	6,461		
	(Tls. 718 = 1,000 dollars)	114,137		158,965
	Balance received in Dollars			4,614
				317,210

In the invoice of specie shipped by H.M.S. *Phaeton* on November 28th there are the same two forms of sycee, the same premium on new dollars, and the same 'Mandarin's fee' of 8 dollars per chest. Another invoice per H.M.S. *St. Albans* may be summarized as follows:

	Tls.		Dollars.
Old Dollars at 0·718			365,000
New Dollars (no mention of premium)			70,000
Sycee	24,000		
Premium at 5 ℔ Cent	1,200		
	25,200	at 0·72	35,000
			470,000
Charges: Mandarin's fees 93 chests at 8·34			776
Other expenses			230
			471,006

The export of sycee from China was illegal, but of these remittances some were delivered to the ships at Whampoa, while other shipments were effected from Macao; the 'Mandarin's fees' were however the same, in both cases, as if the chests had been sent from Canton.

In the peace with Spain concluded in July, 1808, the Committee

[1] i.e. 0·3 per cent.

saw the means of supplying India from Canton with less risk and greater convenience. A portion of the last consignment (the 70,000 new dollars without premium) was obtained from the Royal Company of the Philippines, practically on loan, to be repaid from the Canton treasury of the English Company as required; and the Committee suggested, for Lord Minto's consideration, that the Canton treasury might supply funds to the Spanish Company against bills drawn on the Spanish factors at Calcutta.

The staff of the factory consisted of the following:

Select Committee, 4.

Supercargoes below Committee, 5.

Writers (1 of 8 years, 2 of 6 years, 2 under 5 years), 5.

In the absence of Sir G. T. Staunton the Committee were dependent for interpreting on Mr. T. Manning and Mr. R. Morrison. Mr. Manning left for Bengal on February 19, 1810. The translations seem to have been made generally by him, and it must be said that those from Chinese into English are bald and are fully intelligible only to one who can see through the English and descry the Chinese original. Mr. Morrison is noted as having accompanied Mr. Roberts on October 27, 1809, to an audience of the Viceroy. On February 1, 1810, at a critical moment, it is noted that

> Mr. Morrison having returned to his Family at Macao and as his assistance at the present moment is likely to be of essential service the *Antelope* is dispatched to Macao for his conveyance to Canton.

He acted as interpreter at an important interview with the Kwangchow Fu and Namhoi Hien on February 10th.

The census of foreigners at Canton and Macao on March 22, 1809, outside the official Companies, included:

Prussians: Messrs. Beale and Magniac.

Americans: Mr. Carrington, Consular Agent, and numerous private merchants.

There were also some British subjects: 1 English (Mr. Shank), 1 Armenian (Mr. Baboom), 1 'Portuguese' (Mr. Barretto, a Portuguese of Bombay, doing business at Macao under the licence of the Governor of Bombay), and several Parsees. As the Court constantly renewed their orders to expel all unlicensed persons, letters were written to Mr. Shank and the Parsees;

they all recognized the obligation to leave, but offered different excuses for staying on a month, or a season, longer.

The cost of manufacture in England of the woollens had so much increased that the Court ordered that a higher price was to be demanded for the superfines. This the merchants resisted; 'suffering as they were under heavy losses on Long Ells, they could not in justice to themselves consent to increase them by further loss on Superfine Cloths'; and as the Committee had contracted in advance to deliver the woollens in fixed proportions at the old prices, no change could be made this season. The woollens of this season realized as follows:

	Pieces.	Yards.	Rate.	*Realized.* Tls.
Cloths: superfines	10,734 *	180,080	2·30	414,184
supers	3,551 *	59,091	1·60	94,545
worsters	1,647 *	41,220	1·10	45,342
Long Ells	219,298	..	7·50	1,644,735
,, ,, superior	7,878	..	9·50	74,841
,, ,, embossed	560	..	11·00	6,160
Camlets	21,754	..	20, 25, 28	495,435
Worleys	3,552	..	18·00	63,925
Templars	40	..	10·80	432
Double Colors	12 *	..	at cost price	1,722
Seraglio Ratteens and Moscow Cloths	..	..	..	2,418
	269,026			

* Half-cloths.

The 'Double Colors' were bought by the Hong Merchants collectively and presented to the Hoppo. On August 30th there is a reference to

Mr. Charles Thomas permitted by the Hon'ble Company to proceed to India as Agent for the Sale of a quantity of British Manufactured Cottons arrived on the *Betsy* [brig from Manila] and landed at Macao with his Family.

Sandalwood was imported from Madras to the amount of 9,650 piculs, of which more than half was on Company's account, realizing Tls. 19 (26·4 dollars) a picul on average. This season there is recorded a large importation, some declared from New Holland, some from Fiji, 9,342 piculs in English country ships, 5,126 piculs in American ships, together 14,468 piculs, which was sold at Canton at 13 to 14 dollars.

In March, 1809, an inquiry came from the Viceroy for the

importation of rice from India; the rice was to be exempted from all dues, and ships carrying only rice were to pay no measurage. The inquiry was renewed in January, 1810. On both occasions the merchants were informed that the Viceroy's wish would be transmitted to India, but that no response need be expected unless a satisfactory minimum price were guaranteed. No such guarantee was offered, and if any rice was imported that year, it was in Chinese junks.

The contracts in advance for the season 1809 were made on March 17, 1809, and those for the season 1810 on February 25, 1810. The distribution for the two seasons was as follows:

	Season 1809.			*Season 1810.*		
	Woollens.	*Bohea.*	*Other teas.*	*Woollens.*	*Bohea.*	*Other teas.*
	Twentieth.	Large chests.	Small chests.	Twentieth.	Large chests.	Small chests.
Puiqua	4	800	19,600	..	..	..
Ponqua	2	400	9,800	(2)	..	(17,200)
Chunqua	3	900	13,600	3	400	25,800
Gnewqua	2	400	9,800	(2)	..	(34,200)
Conseequa	2	400	9,800	2	2,000	17,200
Exchin	2	400	9,800	2	400	17,200
Manhop	2	400	9,800	2	1,000	17,200
Poonequa	1	300	6,000	1½	400	13,400
Lyqua	1	300	6,000	1½	1,000	13,400
Undistributed	1	200	4,900	4	..	34,400
	20	4,500	99,100	20	5,200	190,000

In 1809 the undistributed shares were held in reserve for Tinqua, who did not succeed in reaching the position of Hong Merchant; in 1810 they represented the shares formerly given to Puiqua, not then redistributed, but in 1810 reassigned to Puiqua. In 1810 the contracts given 'on account of Ponqua and Gnewqua' were allotted to the collective body of Hong Merchants to assist in clearing up those bankrupt estates. The winter contract prices for teas in this season and the next were per picul according to character as follows:

	1809. Tls.	*1810.* Tls.
Bohea	14	14
Congo as Bohea	15	15
Congo	26, 27, 29	26, 27, 29
Twankay	26, 27	26, 27
Hyson	not contracted for	56, 58
Hyson Skins	,, ,,	27, 28

Owing to the uncertainty in the quantity and price of the woollens for 1810, the importation of that year was not distributed in advance. In settling the prices the principle of barter was clearly manifested.

We then proposed to the Merchants to receive the Long Ells at the present prices to this as we expected they objected and urged the unfavourable Sales made this Season [1809] as their claim to some reduction in the price, or at least that we should restore the Congo Tea to the former prices of 27, 28, & 29 Tls. instead of 26, 27, 29 to this latter proposition we should have been more willing to accede as less disadvantageous to the Company and also more within our own power to restore to its present state.

In view of the larger volume of profit accruing from the largely increased contracts for teas, it was agreed to increase neither price.

In the aftermath of the stoppage of trade consequent on Admiral Drury's expedition, the tin and lead of the season were not sold until March 19, 1809. On that day the lead was sold to Goqua, and the tin at Tls. 15·20 to Conseequa acting in conjunction with or as cloak for an Armenian, Mr. Baboom. Payment was to be made at Macao in sycee at 7 per cent. premium, and in the existing scarcity of dollars, which alone might be lawfully exported, it would be convenient to have sycee at Macao, whence it might be shipped to the treasury in India.

Mr. Pattle objected, considering it improper to deal with any but the established Merchants towards whom the measure proposed would be an act of injustice neither could he think it proper to place confidence in any person in Mr. Baboom's circumstances and Conseequa's debt being already 484,000 Tales we should avoid by every possible means the encrease of it. The shipment or encouragement to the exportation of Sycee as contrary to the regulations of the Government appeared also objectionable.

The Committee argued that if the Governor-General wanted silver, he must have it, and that the shipment of sycee was not in any way more injurious to the country than the exportation of dollars; and the sale was effected. By the end of June Tls. 54,000 had been paid; but on October 31st Mr. Pattle recorded a detailed minute of protest in the consultations, and on February 25, 1810, he recorded still another minute, calling upon the President and Committee ' to explain why full payment

has not been made for the tin sold to Mr. Baboom in March last under Conseequa's Security'. In their replies each of the other members pointed out that the delay in payment was occasioned by a cause which no one could have foreseen, namely 'the unfavourable result of Opium speculations'. Of these, however, no details are given.

Mr. George Baring, after his letter[1] on the prohibition of agency for opium transactions, had asked for leave to go to India in order to wind up the agencies in which he was concerned. Under standing regulations the Committee refused their permission, but he went without leave; and from Calcutta, under date of March 24, 1809, he wrote to the Court of Directors, pointing out that the prohibition caused hardship to himself, inconvenience to the Company, and injury to British interests. The Chinese authorities, also, were again turning their attention to opium, and on August 17th the Viceroy and Hoppo jointly issued mandates, one enforcing the prohibition of the import of opium, the other renewing the prohibition of the export of 'this Country's Gold and Silver'.[2] It is possible that these mandates were issued in August under the inspiration of the other Hong Merchants, from whom Conseequa and Mr. Baboom had in March snatched a monopoly of the Company's tin 'to be paid for in five or six months at Macao in sycee'; the speculation was in some way mixed up with a venture in opium; and the sycee was avowedly made available for shipment to India.

The war with France and her allies continued, but on March 26, 1809, the Committee at Macao received official advices

containing the interesting account of peace having been concluded between Spain and Great Britain and of the glorious and hitherto successful resistance made by the Spanish Nation to the Tyranny of France.

It was now resolved to clear the Eastern seas of enemy strongholds, a step taken on the statesmanlike inspiration of Lord Minto. On August 31st the Committee received a dispatch, dated July 31st, from the captain commandant at Malacca:

Having just received instructions from His Excellency Rear Admiral Drury and the Govt. of Prince of Wales Id. to give the utmost publicity

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 78.

[2] For translation, see Appendix U.

in my power to the Orders lately issued for placing the Island of Java, the Moluccas and the Isles of France and Bourbon in a state of the most rigorous blockade, I do myself the honor herewith to transmit for general information copies of the said Notification in the English, French, Dutch, and Persian languages.

It must be remembered that the Declaration of Paris was nearly fifty years in the future, and that the war between England and the United States did not break out until three years later.

In the meantime American ships were engaged in a highly profitable and deeply irritating neutral carrying trade. They were introducing a new element into the China trade—small, handy, fast ships commanded and manned by sailors of exceptional alertness of mind and body. While the English Indiamen were now generally of a tonnage exceeding 1,200 tons builder's measurement, and the country ships trading from India averaged upwards of 700 tons, the American ships were only exceptionally over 500 tons, were not infrequently under 200 tons, and averaged less than 350 tons. The Indiamen carried a cargo frequently invoiced at more than £150,000 sterling, but they took from four to five months to voyage without halt from London to Canton, and they made regularly one round voyage in two years. The American ship *Ann and Hope*, 300 tons, Captain Olney, left Providence, Rhode Island, on April 25, 1809, and arrived at Macao on August 1st, a voyage of 98 days. The *Trident*, 460 tons, Captain Blackman, in 1806 left New York on April 20th and arrived at Macao on August 18th in 120 days; in 1807 she left New York on May 12th with Mr. Robert Morrison a passenger on board, and arrived at Macao on September 7th in 117 days; the round voyage from arrival at Macao in 1806 to arrival in 1807 was made in 385 days. It is not certain if she visited China in 1808 as the records are not complete, but she again arrived from New York on September 6, 1809. The American ship *Atahualpa*, 200 tons, Captain Sturgis, from Boston, dropped anchor on August 23, 1809, in Macao Road and sent a boat ashore for a pilot, the men on board being thus reduced to eleven; she was then attacked by 'a considerable Fleet of Ladron Boats', which she beat off and took shelter under the guns of Macao:

The Captain and Crew behaved with a degree of determined coolness

which entitled them to every credit, and to which the safety of his Ship may be ascribed.

These few among numerous instances serve to show how efficient this neutral service was; but, the greater its efficiency, the more it exasperated the British navy, and the more sternly it was repressed. On June 28th

H.M. Ships *Doris* and *Psyche* anchored in these Roads from Manilla bringing with them an American Ship [the *Rebecca*] with a Cargo on board on account of the Dutch East India Company destined for Japan which they fell in with off Pulo Sapato on their passage to Manilla and detained.

The *Rebecca* was deeply laden with sugar and very leaky, and it was thought necessary to land her cargo at Macao; and, this having been done, the Red-haired Eye (Hung-mao mu), in other words the English Chief, on July 7th received a letter from the Heungshan Hien complaining of the coming of ships of war which were not convoying merchant ships,

though they say that they have come to water after which they will leave, they have yet brought with them an American Ship which did not come from Europe. Their ways wicked and underhand are very unworthy of credit. . . . Order the said Ships of War to sail and return to their Country. An instant's delay is not allowed.

The next day Mowqua emerged from his retirement to request Mr. Roberts to allow the Chinese authorities to verify if the discharged cargo was actually sugar; as the packages had been deposited in the Portuguese Custom-house, he was referred to the Portuguese authorities. The next day, July 9th, the *Doris*, *Psyche*, and *Rebecca* left Macao Roads in company. An explanation had been sent for transmission to the Viceroy, whose reply was received on July 25th. He found the explanation satisfactory, but, though it was because of the ship's leaky state that the sugar was landed,

yet Macao is the Heavenly Empire's Territory, and the Portuguese Foreign Eye when he wished to transact this business and receive the goods for the time being, yet ought first to have presented an address explaining the affair.

In the following November the commanders of English ships complained to Captain Austen of H.M.S. *St. Albans* that their

sailors were deserting and finding shelter on American ships. He then wrote to Mr. Roberts:

I must therefore request you will represent to the American Consul at Canton that it is my determination that in case any Deserters are hereafter detected on board any vessel under American colors in this River, to take an equal number of their proper Crews, besides retaining such Deserters.

Mr. Roberts wrote in this sense to Mr. Edward Carrington, who, though only a mercantile consul, showed himself by his reply to be worthy of the diplomatic service:

Upon enquiry I find, all the American Vessels at Whampoa are completely manned with their proper Crews, excepting one whose Crew has been weakened by desertion since her arrival in this port. I do not learn that any inducements are held out by persons on board the American vessels to encourage desertion; I have however required of the Commanders of those vessels that they do not permit any person (coming from a British Ship) to be enticed or secreted on board their Vessels; yet 'tis possible deserters may find means of getting on board, if so they will be delivered up, not in consequence of the threat of Captain Austen, but by the better coercion, of reason and justice.

A copy of this reply was sent to Captain Austen with the Committee's comment:

from the little spirit of conciliation manifested by this Gentleman we cannot hope an amicable Settlement of any dispute that may arise; but so little attention appears to be paid to him by the greater part of the American Traders to this Port that we believe his authority will but slightly tend to check the evils of which you so justly complain.

At the close of the season, on February 25, 1810, Puiqua (or Howqua) definitely carried into effect his previously declared intention of retiring, not only from the headship of the Consoo but from the position of Hong Merchant altogether. The next in seniority was Ponqua. He had always been held in high esteem and had had large transactions with the Company; but during the season he became bankrupt, and Gnewqua was in an even worse situation.

At the end of March, 1809, Ponqua was heavily indebted to a Parsee merchant, Hormajee Dorabjee, who applied to the Committee for permission to appeal to the Hoppo. At the same time Ponqua's colleagues urged the Committee to refuse permission, and to give larger contracts to Ponqua to enable him

to pay off his indebtedness. This request was refused and permission accorded, whereupon the Viceroy ordered the Hong Merchants to liquidate the debt to Hormajee in three annual instalments. The debt amounted to 240,000 dollars. In January, 1810, Ponqua was found to be unable to settle his accounts with Captain Rush, commanding a country ship; and at this time he was practically bankrupt.

Gnewqua had for some years been in difficult situations, from which one after the other he had emerged; now, on December 3, 1809, it became known that his partner Ahoy had absconded, leaving the firm's affairs in a very embarrassed state, and on the 7th the matter was brought to the cognizance of the Hoppo. There were then two firms in a bankrupt state—not in a position to pay their dues to the Government, which must be provided in cash, and unable to meet their liabilities to their foreign and Chinese creditors.

> Should those Merchants be allowed to break, and the amount of their debts to Europeans and for duties fall upon the other Merchants, it is more than some of them would be able to support, the Hong generally consisting of young Merchants who cannot be expected to do more than discharge their own immediate claims; from the accumulated pressure therefore that would ensue, it is difficult to say where the evil would end, but it appears certain that a total loss of confidence and the most serious difficulties to the trade must be the result.

Before this, in June, there had been alarm at a circumstantial report that a Co-Hong had been established, specifically for the affairs of the country ships, and that only the Security Merchant would be permitted to buy the imports of each ship or to supply her exports. The Committee, then at Macao, asked for an explanation, and the merchants frankly avowed that they wished to put an end to the evil practices of the Parsees and Armenians. The Company was straightforward, establishing a standard price for the season, the same for all dealers; but those others, nosing around, would raise their prices if there was a short supply on the market, and if they suffered a loss on one ship would try to make up for it on the next by befooling the younger merchants. They further argued that such a monopoly was a necessary condition if, as was proposed, Mowqua and Howqua were to provide in three annual instalments the 240,000

dollars required to settle the account between Ponqua and Hormajee Dorabjee; and, moreover, that its only practical application at the present moment was the levy of one tael a picul on imports of cotton at Canton. As this Consoo levy would exact several times more than the amount required, and as the Consoo fund, if not raided by the Government, ought to provide amply for all legitimate calls upon it, the Committee protested against any such novelty; and, on September 9th, they

had the satisfaction to learn that the Emperor has expressed his disapprobation of the Establishment of a Cohong, which will now be entirely abolished.

On the return of the Committee to Canton, at a conference held on November 6th they informed the merchants that, as the project had not been approved,

at the present moment it was not necessary to enter further into the subject than to express our entire disapprobation of such proceedings and to assure them every mark of our resentment should be shewn to those who continued the Instigators or Supporters of measures so injurious to the Hon'ble Company's Trade at this Place.

Having thus, as it appeared, escaped the danger of a close individual monopoly, Mr. Roberts then considered how he might utilize the solidarity of the Hong Merchants for clearing up the bankrupt estates. The Consoo fund was supposed to provide for this need, but it was drawn on so heavily to supplement ordinary taxation that it was not available for the very purpose for which it had been established. Mr. Roberts then proposed that the business of the two firms should be placed in the hands of receivers —confidential persons working in the interest of the bankrupts, but under the supervision of the Committee; and

when the probable profit of the Hongs can be ascertained a certain proportion must be applied to the payment of Individuals, which should be optional with us either to discharge in specie or by bills on the Hon'ble Court or on the Government of Bengal as may be most convenient.

An essential part of such a plan was that the Committee should continue to sell the woollens to the two firms and should contract with them for even greater quantities of tea; and to produce an annual profit of Tls. 170,000 in order to pay off its debt in six

years, it was calculated that Gnewqua's firm must contract for 30,000 chests of Congou and a proportion equal to two shares of other sorts of tea, and must receive 5,000 pieces of camlets or the equivalent in other woollens; a similar calculation was made for Ponqua.[1]

The merchants disliked the proposed supervision by the Committee, but accepted the plan in principle; and the matter being referred to the Hoppo, he also accepted it in principle. A statement of Gnewqua's debts on January 29, 1810, showed them to be

	Tls.
To the Company	396,793
To private foreigners 695,873 dollars = . .	501,029
To Chinese creditors, about	400,000
To the Chinese Government, about . . .	100,000
Total	1,397,822

Mr. Pattle from day to day expressed his opinion that 'Application to Government and the public failure of Gnewqua's Hong was on every account the preferable mode of proceeding'; but he did not press his objection, and a circular letter was sent to the foreign creditors asking their adhesion. They accepted the proposal tentatively for one season.

During the whole season there was much activity in connexion with the pirates—operations by them and operations conducted against them; and during the same period the Chinese authorities were simultaneously trying to persuade the Committee to aid them in suppressing piracy, and were inflicting on them every petty annoyance in their power. The Viceroy, Han Kiung-kwang, during whose incumbency Admiral Drury had occupied Macao, had been degraded and cashiered, and his successor was in May reported to have

> refused for some time to see the Merchants and ultimately had received them very ungraciously. The Dismissal of many of the inferior Mandarins is also spoken of.

On May 26th two of the linguists came to Macao, sent by the Viceroy to inquire and report to him the nature of the cargo of the country ship *Baring*, which had arrived from Calcutta on the 17th; only after receipt of this report would the Viceroy

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 105.

grant permission for a pilot to be sent to her to enable her to ascend to Whampoa.

Should the Viceroy intend to pursue this investigation with every Ship that arrives the evil will be of so serious a nature as to require the strongest remonstrance, but no orders on the subject are made public or acknowledged by the Mandarins of the district; it is therefore thought better to delay taking any steps till more certain information can be obtained particularly as this Ship is said to have a parcel of Opium on board which if discovered would be considered to justify the detention and prevent our applying with effect to obtain the removal of the restriction in future.

On June 5th pilots were granted to the English country ships, including the *Baring*, which had arrived previous to that date; but the American ship *Guatemotzin*, arrived May 29th, received her pilot on June 1st. The opium on the *Baring* had been landed at Macao. In the case of that ship the delay, moored in an open roadstead, had been so long—nineteen days—and so many British ships—four—were delayed, and as it seemed probable that the Company's ships would be subjected to the same delay, the Committee resolved to write to the Viceroy, pointing out the insecurity of Macao Road for large ships, and expressing their confidence that his sense of justice and his wisdom would lead him to abolish his new restriction. This letter was delivered to the magistrate at Casa Branca, and the linguist who delivered it

was very severely treated by that officer of Government and shortly after came to the President's house with the square wood [cangue] about his neck and his face bearing the marks of having been beaten.

On June 12th the magistrate at Casa Branca wrote to the Procurador of Macao, ordering him to inform the English President that such communications should be addressed to the magistrate and not to the Viceroy, and that the Viceroy would 'take the proper measures as to him shall appear fitting'. Without, apparently, any express order the restriction was removed from the country ships, but on July 6th

Mowqua arrived from Canton and delivered a Copy of the Emperor's Edict from which it was perceived with regret that some further embarrassments were likely to arise to the Hon'ble Company's Trade at this Port as it appeared that the Ships were not to be permitted to anchor within the Bocca Tigris untill further advices from Pekin.

Mowqua advised Mr. Roberts to lose no time in addressing the Viceroy, and indeed the matter was urgent, for, in the translation made for the Committee, the imperial decree read as follows:

On the 19th of this month [July 2nd] was received with due respect His Majesty's pleasure in answer to Peh (the Viceroy's) memorial in which he said 'I will wait till the time of the arrival of the English Merchant Ships of this year before which I shall fully examine into the nature of the whole affair'. This is perfectly right. Thus will be known the said Foreigners real intention whether or not it was to exert unreasonable violence wickedly and falsely. Although the authenticated memorial of the Merchants Roberts &c. states that the foreign soldiers will not dare again to come it is not worthy of entire credit. Last year when the foreign Soldiers came to Macao Han Kiung-Kwang the former Viceroy and his fellow officers did not exert themselves to inquire fully into the affair but lost it by lenity. At this time then it must accordingly be made up by severity. I order Peh the Viceroy before the arrival of the said country's Ships this year studiously to exert himself to examine into the Affair. If they should again bring a number of soldiers and desire to contrive to enter this port, immediately call out the troops attend to the passes stop them and exterminate them. Only forbear if they be merchant Ships and shall present a petition confessing their Offence and that with contrition and earnestness and then it is proper to order them to stop and anchor outside. The Viceroy shall immediately communicate the information to me and wait till I deign to signify my pleasure when he shall act accordingly.

The Committee then wrote to the Viceroy a letter which was handed to Mowqua, who handed them in return a mandate from the Künming Fu and the Heungshan Hien sending them a form of letter which those officials thought it would be proper for the Committee to address to the Viceroy. The Committee were of opinion that

it would be impossible to return a reply of the nature of the insolent production transmitted to us by the Mandarin of Hiangshan, we also strongly object to adopting such addresses as the Mandarins think proper to dictate.

Mowqua was therefore, on July 10th, requested to deliver the Committee's own draft to the mandarins for transmission to the Viceroy. This the mandarins refused to accept, and it was determined to send it to the Hong Merchants at Canton; and this was done, notwithstanding constant pressure to change the Committee's decision. The Viceroy answered this on August 3rd

by a mandate to the Hong Merchants—matters must wait until the arrival of the ships, when, if an humble petition were presented, the question would be again considered: 'This will suffice; do not again annoy by requests.' At the same time the barriers were again opened and, on August 6th, a second batch of pilots was supplied for ten country ships which had accumulated in the Macao Road awaiting permission to enter the river. On September 9th the Committee learned to their satisfaction that instructions had been received from Peking abolishing the Cohong, and

it is also reported that directions have been received by the Viceroy to admit all Merchant Ships as usual and to treat Foreigners with strict justice and kindness.

On September 17th arrived the Company's fleet of twelve Indiamen under convoy of H.M.S. *St. Albans*, and

as the arrival of these Ships will render our presence in Canton necessary, we proceed to take into consideration the most practicable means of removing the Factory; by the customary route in Chop Boats it is impracticable without a degree of risk of capture by the Ladrones, to which we should not feel justified in exposing the Factory.

The pirates were, in fact, more and more aggressive, despite the futile efforts of Chinese mandarindom to suppress them. In February, 1809, they distinguished themselves by capturing a foreign brig under Portuguese colours; in April they had fitted her out and were cruising in her to the eastward; but in September five of her original crew, left on board to work her, ran away with her and brought her into Macao. In June it was stated that the scarcity of rice had driven the Ladrones to raiding far up the rivers, and that they had sacked a considerable market town within twenty miles of Canton. On July 21st heavy guns were heard in Macao from 'an engagement between a Fleet of Mandarin Boats about 26 in number and a considerable Ladrone Force which terminated decidedly in favor of the latter'. The pirates then entered the Broadway and threatened an attack on Heungshan unless they received a considerable ransom in money and supplies—which was paid; and during August their boats raided in all directions, destroying, plundering, and burning, even within four or five miles of Canton. In that month, on the 23rd, they attacked the American ship *Atahualpa* in Macao

Road; and on the 19th the Hong Merchants bought at Canton the British brig *Elizabeth*, 108 tons, intending to fit her and to cruise against the pirates. It was in fact reported that the Emperor had ordered the most vigorous efforts to be made to suppress piracy, and had even authorized the enlistment of foreign aid for that purpose. The audacity of the pirates was brought home to the Committee by news that on September 21st the fourth officer of the *Marquis of Ely*, Mr. R. Glasspoole, and six of the cutter's crew, sent away for the pilot, had been taken by the Ladrones and held to ransom, 100,000 dollars being named as the sum to be paid.

Now began a series of manœuvres between the Chinese authorities and the English. The Viceroy wished to obtain a guarantee that Admiral Drury's exploit would never be repeated; he wished to coerce Mr. Roberts into writing, or saying, or doing something which would content his superiors at Peking; and at the same time he wished to enlist Mr. Roberts's aid in procuring the services of the British navy to suppress piracy. Mr. Roberts could not, of course, give the guarantee required; he would do nothing to diminish the Company's privileges; and he insisted that he could give no orders to the navy, and declared that, while the navy would gladly co-operate, the Viceroy must communicate direct with the King's officers if he wished their help.

The first move in the comedy was a visit on September 10th from a subordinate of the Heungshan Hien, suggesting as from the Hien that H.M.S. *Dédaigneuse* might do good work in cruising against the pirates, and if her operations should take her inside the Bogue, no objection would be made by the authorities. The Committee had that same day sent to the Hien for transmission to the Viceroy their humble petition praying forgiveness for the invasion of the previous year—the second version, going far in the direction of a draft sent in by the Chinese, but they were not inclined to place the British navy at the disposal of a District Magistrate, and contented themselves with replying that they would mention the matter to Captain Bell. Piracy became even more rampant; lighters were seized between Canton and Whampoa; a large fleet anchored almost within gunshot of the ships at Whampoa; the Chop House (Customs station) between Wham-

poa and First Bar was burned; and the Chinese war junks were ignominiously driven to cover among the foreign shipping at Whampoa.

The Portuguese authorities were then taken with the idea of offering to destroy the Ladrones by a force of foreign ships supported by 200 mandarin boats. The expense was of course to be borne by the Chinese, who were to advance Tls. 300,000. At the same time the Kwangchow Fu authorized the Hong Merchants to charter the country ship *Mercury* (350 tons), armed and manned as she was, to stiffen the Chinese navy. The proposal to charter the *Mercury* was sanctioned by the Committee, but they were apprehensive that so small an equipment as that provided by chartering any country ship might fail of its object; and they informed the merchants that

> the arrival of the Hon'ble Company's Ships under convoy of H.M. Ship *St. Albans* will place the shipping in the river in perfect Security and allow of the most efficient aid being afforded to the Chinese should they think proper to solicit it.

On October 3rd a direct application was made to the President that he should sanction the chartering of country ships and should consult with the naval officers as to the further action to be taken; but the application came from the Kwangchow Fu. Mr. Roberts replied by a letter to the Viceroy in which he stated that the suppression of piracy could be effected only by measures on a large scale, that such measures could only be devised and put into operation by naval officers, and that for this purpose the Viceroy must make application direct to Captain Austen.

On September 17th the Committee had presented a very modest request: that, instead of going to Canton by the Broadway, which was infested by pirates and therefore dangerous, they might go by the Bogue, by which route they might be escorted by ships of war in the estuary and by armed boats from the ships inside the Bogue. A month later, on October 16th, they were informed that their petition had been graciously granted. On the 20th they received recommendations from the Künming Fu and from the Hong Merchants to present an humble petition—the third in the sequence—to the Viceroy; the proposed draft was enclosed in the merchants' letter, and its tone may be judged from the following paragraph in it:

We thank the Great Emperor for his vigorous pleasure to eject them but not to add a chastisement of the offence ; afterwards at Macao the Foreign Merchant Roberts wrote a letter to inform the Company that they might open (report) the affair to the King of that Nation. They (the British authorities) have now taken the said head of the Soldiers (Admiral Drury) and deal with him according to the regulations. They cannot but cherish regard for the Virtue and be moved with fear to the utmost at the Majesty of this Empire.

The Committee did not adopt the draft. The Chop having arrived, the factory started for Canton on October 21st, the personnel on the frigates and Indiamen, the baggage in fishing-boats, arrived at Chuenpi on the 23rd, and at Canton in Chop boats on the 25th, one month and eight days after having applied for their permit. They there heard that an imperial decree had been received only the day before ordering that the Company's ships should be admitted to the port ; and they hoped that, if pilots could be sent without delay, the Indiamen, deeply laden as they were, might be brought up to Whampoa on the spring tides then due. Of pilots there was yet no sign ; but the senior Hong Merchants brought the astounding news that the Viceroy wished to see the President in person, and the audience was arranged for October 27th. This was too good an opportunity to be lost, and a memorial was drawn up, professing the greatest readiness to conform to the laws and customs of the Chinese Empire, but enumerating several of the grievances of which they had well-founded grounds of complaint. *Imprimis*, they complained that they were denied access to the Viceroy and other superior officers of Government, and that their communications must pass through those very persons, smaller mandarins or Hong Merchants, of whose actions they might have reason to complain. The trade was burdened with charges levied by the merchants, the Consoo Fund, to an amount very far exceeding the imperial duties. The restricted site of the factories precluded the possibility of erecting or hiring the storage accommodation required for their greatly increased trade. They also complained of

the heavy fees extorted from the persons officiating as Compradore to ourselves and Ships particularly the latter. . . . We must beg further to draw your Excellency's attention to the very unpleasant situations in which we are personally placed our actions on all occasions viewed with suspicion and distrust, unmerited by us, and unworthy of a great

and powerful Nation; denied every reasonable liberty and enjoyment and exposed to insult from the meanest officer of the Government, indeed kept more as prisoners than persons entrusted with the management of a great and powerful Trade. Thus situated we cannot be supposed to entertain that respect and attachment the kindness intended by the Emperor may induce your Excellency to suppose we should shew, and must entirely check those sentiments that alone can lead us to hope for the establishment of such good understanding between our respective Countries as will secure obedience to the Laws on the firm basis of respect and esteem.

The iron must have bitten deep before the supercargoes could write so bitterly; but even to their slight insight into the Chinese mentality, the futility of it all must have been apparent.

While waiting in the antechamber before the audience, the Hong Merchants first tried to persuade the Committee to entrust their memorial to them for delivery to the Viceroy; and that failing, the Kwangchow Fu next tried his hand, but he too was denied. After some delay

we were summoned to attend the Viceroy who with the Foyuen, Hoppo and three other Mandarins we found in the Hall of Audience seated on either side of a Throne raised a few steps at the upper end of the Room on which was placed a Table with Incense and Lights burning and behind them a Chair and Screen representing the Imperial presence, we were desired to stand in a line across the Hall below the Chairs on which the Mandarins were seated, when the Kwangchow Fu took from the Table a paper deposited there in a small box covered with yellow silk which he brought down and read aloud to us it was then returned to the Box and the whole was delivered to another Mandarin who proceeded with it thro' the center door and placed it in a chair for conveyance to the Factory.

The Committee bowed and retired. After this the Viceroy in an inner apartment, attended by two mandarins, received Mr. Roberts accompanied only by Mr. Morrison as interpreter, and after much protestation received the memorial from his hands. On the first ground of complaint he declared that he would always be ready to receive the President on any really important matter, and

in the most marked manner pointed out the Quang-cheu-fu as a man with whom we might communicate our grievances as fully as to himself.

The imperial decree which had been thus delivered made due recognition of the perfect humility of the Committee's memorial

and the correctness of their attitude since the withdrawal of 'their Nation's foreign Troops who had presumptuously and blindly entered Macao'; ordered their merchant ships to be admitted to trade; but decreed that ships of war were to be kept outside.

The question of piracy came up very soon, and on October 29th the Kwangchow Fu called in person on the President and had an amicable conversation with him on the subjects referred to in the Committee's memorial. Having promised inquiry and redress in all possible ways, he then, having previously dismissed all attendants from the room, asked the President if assistance could not be given to suppress piracy; and after some talk he was told that he must see Captain Austen, and that the request must come from the highest authority in the Government, preferably by a personal interview between the Viceroy and Captain Austen.

The Kuang-cheu-fu behaved with much civility and attention during the interview and appeared to shew an earnest wish that assistance should be afforded, but at the same time was desirous of saving the Viceroy the disagreeable task of soliciting it.

The next day the Kwangchow Fu again visited the factory to meet Captain Austen. The interview was most friendly, both parties expressing their opinions quite frankly. Captain Austen declared that he was ready to give what assistance was in his power; but, before he could take action which would result in the death of Chinese subjects who had not attacked him, he must have a personal interview with the Viceroy and receive his commission face to face. This was agreed to, and on November 2nd

Captain Austen accompanied by Captains Pellew, Bell and Wells, with the President and Mr. Morrison proceeded to the City and were conducted to the Palace of the Hoppo where it was intended the interview should take place; we were conducted to a small room where the Merchants were in attendance and after considerable detention the reception of Captain Austen being delayed on frivolous pretences at last we were surprised to learn that the Viceroy had gone, and the senior Merchants soon returned to say that he had been obliged to retire to open despatches received from Pekin, but would be happy to see Captain Austen another day. Such a ridiculous falsehood heightened the absurdity of the Viceroys extraordinary conduct and Captain Austen very properly replied that if the Viceroy now wished to see him he must come to the Factory, to which he immediately returned.

The Viceroy would, at this moment, undoubtedly have accepted any assistance offered to supplement his feeble means of combating the pirates, but he could not bring himself to display his impotence by asking for the help. In the meantime he had closed with the Portuguese offer and the Macao authorities were equipping six small ships of foreign type, and manning them to some extent by deserters from the Indiamen. The Governor, Senhor d'Alvarenga, wrote to the Committee asking to be supplied with gunpowder, cannon, swords, and blunderbusses, which were sent to him. The Chinese authorities made it clear to the world that the Portuguese were allowed to hang on the skirts of the invincible Chinese forces and to pick up detached bits of the fruits of victory; at the same time they paid the Portuguese Tls. 18,000 a month for the ships. The Hong Merchants contributed Tls. 30,000 a month. The fleet cruised and the pirates were cornered, and then (December 3rd) they escaped. At about the same date Mr. Glasspoole and his companions were rescued by being ransomed for 7,500 dollars, partly in cash, partly in opium and other commodities.[1] In the middle of December the Ladrones were credited with having captured fourteen mandarin gunboats; and on December 28th it was recorded that

the Chief of Ladrones whose surrender has for some time past been talked of has returned to his duty with about 4,000 followers.

On the 30th this was denied; and on January 27th, 1810, the pirates are found again obstructing the movements of the factory.

The Ladrones having again entered the River in opposition to every obstacle on the part of the Portuguese Ships and Mandarins, we cannot think that it will be safe for the factory to proceed by the usual passage to Macao, or indeed in any other way than by the Ships and under their protection.

[1] The ransom was paid as follows:

	Dollars.
In cash	4,220
Two chests of Opium	2,427
Two bales of broadcloth	651
Duty on opium	24
Other expenses	332
Total	7,654

On January 29th a boat from Canton to Whampoa was attacked by pirates, her crew thrown overboard, and three chests of treasure carried off. One lascar was wounded and drowned. On February 21st

> it is reported that a number of Ladrone Boats intending to surrender themselves have already entered the River near the Bogue.

And on the 23rd it was reported that two hundred sail of Ladrone boats were anchored off the Bogue forts for that purpose; but writing to Lord Minto on April 5th the Committee reported that negotiations with the leader of the Ladrones were still going on, that he was loaded with gifts of money and robes of honour, and that it was expected that he and his followers would soon submit; and it must be believed that the silver of the Viceroy was more potent in the affair than the iron shot of the Portuguese.

During the whole of this time the Chinese authorities were obstructive in their dealings with the Committee, going so far as to refuse pilots to take the ships below Second Bar, when on December 20th, being near the completion of their loading, it was desired to send them down on the spring tides then running; and ultimately they had to go without pilots. On January 2nd Captain Austen had occasion to complain that some of his officers on shore at Chuenpi had been roughly handled; a remonstrance sent to the Viceroy elicited a trifling answer as for a trifling affair. Trade, however, progressed smoothly, and it was confidently expected that the fleet would be dispatched on or before February 1st, when, on January 16th, 1810, a Chinese was killed near the factories, stabbed it was stated by a European, alleged to have been an Englishman, surmised to have been a sailor of the *Royal Charlotte*.

Matters followed the usual course. The Namhoi Hien issued a mandate to the Hong Merchants, declaring categorically that Hwang Ah-shing had at the entrance to Hog Lane been stabbed to death by a Hung-mao Kwei-tze (Red-haired devil's imp, *sc.* Englishman), and ordering them to find out the name of the murdering foreigner and make the Taipan (Chief) deliver him up for trial. There was no proof of any sort—there were in fact as many Americans as Englishmen at that place at that time—nothing that could implicate any one individual or any one nationality; but, as no one had been given up, the Hoppo on

January 30th, on a representation made by the Kwangchow Fu, announced that he would refuse to issue the Grand Chops, without which the ships could not clear. Against this the Committee protested strongly, both to the Viceroy and the Hoppo, but without effect. Chinese New Year then caused delay from February 4th. On the 7th Captain Austen informed the Committee that he had addressed a letter to the Viceroy to intimate that he intended to take the fleet out, with or without the Grand Chops; and on the 10th the Kwangchow Fu came to the factory to meet Mr. Roberts and Captain Austen. He delivered the Viceroy's reply, which was briefly to the effect that the culprit was beyond doubt an Englishman and that the English Chief ought therefore to search him out and deliver him for trial; if this were done, the precedent of Edward Sheen would be followed: the culprit would be handed back to the custody of the Chief, and the Emperor would be memorialized to remit or mitigate the penalty. The President still maintained that there was no evidence connecting any person with the murder, or even indicating his nationality, whereupon the Kwangchow Fu undertook to bring the two witnesses to the factory. This he did the next day, when a long examination produced evidence which was largely guess-work and all vague, not such as would be accepted in an English court of law, but accepted as conclusive by the Kwangchow Fu and by his superiors.

The next day, February 12th, Captain Austen wrote to the Viceroy a letter in which he reviewed the evidence, stated that there was no proof that it was an Englishman, and closed with the following declaration:

> It is therefore incumbent on me to state to your Excellency that having made all possible enquiry as far as the evidence yet adduced has enabled us, we cannot proceed to any further investigation, and therefore the Fleet must and will depart from the Territories of His Imperial Majesty unless some more positive proof of the truth of the charge brought against us be immediately produced.

The next day a message from the Hoppo informed the Committee that the Viceroy had determined to imprison Mowqua, Puiqua, and Manhop until a man—some man—should be given up. The Committee were then seized with the idea of appealing from the Viceroy to the Tsiangkün or Tartar-General.

The Hong Merchants endeavoured to dissuade them, but unsuccessfully, and the letter was sent, only to be returned, unopened, by the Hoppo. On February 18th it is recorded that

> The plan proposed by the Merchants for the settlement of our present disputes and to which they hoped the Mandarins would accede, was that a letter should be addressed to the Viceroy stating the impossibility of discovering the person who was supposed to have killed Hoang-a-shing from the nature of the evidence produced, and the confined means of examination which our situation afforded, and therefore requesting the ships might be permitted to depart and if on enquires which would be made it should appear that the offender belonged to the Ships that he should be punished to the extent our laws permitted.

This plan had been mentioned informally by the Hoppo to the Viceroy, who was said to have expressed the opinion that 'it would not be sufficient to satisfy the Emperor'. What means were adopted—how much money it cost the Hong Merchants—is not recorded; but two days later

> Puiqua and Chunqua attended at the Factory at a late hour in the evening with the satisfactory information that the Viceroy was willing to accede to the proposition before made of adjusting the present dispute by referring the punishment of the offender if discovered to the Government of our Country, and delivered an address which they asserted the Viceroy had seen and approved and consequently if presented would be agreed to.

The tone of the address, as hastily explained by Mr. Morrison, was not liked; but the Viceroy was to leave the next morning for the Bogue, and the matter had to be settled that night. One clause—an obligation to bring back the person found guilty and deliver him to the Chinese—was declared to be impossible, and was omitted; otherwise the draft was accepted and was signed. On the 21st the address was supplemented by a bond, and then the Committee waited day after day for the Grand Chops, which were promised but did not come. On February 25th

> the Merchants had been with the Hoppo who could not act without orders from the Viceroy, but renewed his promise of issuing the Chops the moment such orders arrived.

On the 28th the Chops still had not arrived, and the dispatches were sent to the fleet of thirteen Indiamen sailing under convoy of H.M.S. *St. Albans*; and in their dispatch to Captain Francis

William Austen the Committee expressed their sense of the value of his services in the following terms :

We cannot permit your departure from China without expressing the high sense we entertain of the very essential service rendered to the Honble Company and the public Interests in general by your assistance in the late unpleasant discussions with the Chinese Government and to which we are highly indebted, altho' they have not terminated in the way we wished or expected as the Chinese still withhold permission for the Ships departure, and consequently we have been under the necessity of despatching them without their sanction. We must beg at the same time to offer our warmest acknowledgements for the very handsome and friendly manner in which your advice and assistance have at all times been afforded and of which we are sensible to have derived much personal benefit.

The Committee being so resolute, the Hong Merchants busied themselves on the night of February 28th, and on March 1st the Hoppo issued the Grand Chops which had been promised. The documents were at once sent down to the ships and arrived on board before any had reached the Bogue.

APPENDIX U

Translations of Two Edicts transmitted by the Merchants prohibiting the Importation of Opium and Exportation of Gold and Silver

[The former, though more full, appears in tendency similar to the Edict on the same subject already recorded, and from the tenor of the latter there appears just grounds to hope that as in former Seasons it will be construed as only applicable to Gold and Sycee Silver.]

From the Viceroy, August 17th, 1809.

The Deputy Kuan-pu and the Viceroy of the two Kuang, Peh proclaim to the Hong merchants for their full information. It appears that Opium has been exposed to Sale and thereby has long been violated the prohibition of the 4th year of Kia-King, also of the former Viceroy Kie, and together with him the former Kuan-Pu Kie; these presented a memorial stating that they had issued a strict prohibition moreover the Edicts they together published are on the Table [on record].

On examining, we find, that this kind of opium is produced in Foreign Countries, and from thence in Foreign Ships secretly brought to Canton.

Originally because it wasted property and destroyed the constitution it was explicitly prohibited to all Foreign Merchants and that they may indeed obey the prohibition, at proper times admonition is offered that foreigners may know that Opium is an article prohibited by the Heavenly Empire.

Indeed it may not be secretly dealt in and brought into the Harbour (in doing so) they bring wicked crimes upon themselves; should there happen to be Smuggling Merchant Ships, immediately take the said ships place where Opium is contained and present an authentic Address that Search may be made; thus do; What the mischief is it that (this practise) is not cut off by the Roots, but that the Edicts are not communicated to foreigners, for them to obey; hence they know very well that the said Ship has Opium, but yet do present information to have it examined only conceed [concede] to foreigners bringing it secretly in; Thus the Foreign Ships before they enter the Harbour take the Opium and sending it through by-roads; steal it over the passes and get it into the Country. A wicked people buy and sell it backwards and forwards, and thus diffuse

a public mischief; we know not to what extent. Lately it appeared that all the Officers have unitedly taken the Secret Dealers in Opium.

Now in judging we distinguish and go back to examine from whom it has been bought, and deal Severely with them and pushing the enquiry to the origin of the business, undoubtedly it is from Foreign merchants that it is bought, is sent round, and comes; Then things really are so for indeed the Hong-merchants disregard the lives of the People, and only know covetous machinations after gain and their own advantage. They accordingly unite with the Foreigners to Sport as with a worthless thing, with that which is most important and play in a contemptuous way with violations of the Law.

Wherefore beside a severe prohibition, we form this Edict and therefore order the said Hong-merchants to obey accordingly; and immediately to communicate with rigour the whole of its contents to all Foreigners, that afterwards they will not be permitted again to smuggle Opium into the Harbour. If they do smuggle it in, the Security Merchant must immediately present an Address, that having proof, the said Ship may be taken and cast out of the Harbour, and not be allowed to remain to trade at Canton.

If the Security merchant dares to unite with them in clandestinely carrying on the Affair, and do not give information, the instant that it is discovered; beside taking the said Ship and casting it out, the merchant will also be taken and punished for the Offence of yielding and taking part. Decidedly it will not be lightly passed over.

Moreover we order that whosoever Secures Foreign Ships send in, at the time of removing Cargo, to the Viceroy and Kuan-Pu a faithful voluntary Statement that the said Ship has not smuggled Opium. Examine fully and do not again tread in the steps of the former Offence. Diligently obey. Thus the Edict.

Kia-King 14th Year 6th Month 20th day.

From the Viceroy August 17th, 1809.

The Deputy Kuan-Pu and the Viceroy of the two Kuang, Peh proclaim to the Hong-merchants, Linguists, Lin Kuang[1] etc. for their full information: It appears that the Gold of this Country is smuggled out to Sea. Similar to Iron being smuggled out to Sea are the punishments enacted; the regulations distinguish clearly this Countrys Silver.

Before in the fourth year of Kia-King an Imperial Edict was received ordering a consultation for regulating the matter, so

[1] Possibly Ling-Kiang or Ling-Kong = pilot.

that this Countrys Silver might not be obtained by the slight of Foreigners. On this account at that time the former Viceroy Kie together with the former Kuan-Pu Kie, presented a memorial explaining that the foreign merchants coming to Canton to Trade had hitherto exchanged Goods for Goods, and that the Foreign Ships did not smuggle out Silver to return. The business is that this Countrys Silver and Gold are both by law prohibited from going abroad. In procession proclamations have been issued to make known the prohibition and which are on the Table.

Now at the time of Foreign Ships successively arriving we apprehend something may be done not according to Law, and that the People Foreigners unitedly may again introduce something new; Because we know that they are mutually concerned in drawing away this Countrys Silver and Gold, and as before that there are in Sin-ten-lan Street (Hog Lane) those who shoot in the shade and secretly carry on the Affairs of Foreign Ships. If there be not severe dealing in examining the prohibitions there will indeed be difficulty with respect to the duty. Wherefore beside again issuing the severe prohibition and ordering all the Officers to search and seize; we form this Edict, and issue it to all the said Merchants. Hereafter the Security Merchants of Foreign Ships entering the Harbour must, whatever Goods they receive settle the full account by Goods given in Exchange; that Ships when loaded may set sail. Foreigners will not be allowed to pretend that the goods do not answer their consumption, secretly making an Exchange for this Countrys Gold and Silver with the purpose of taking it away.

If it happen that not according to Law Shops take this Countrys Gold and Silver to sell to Foreigners, instantly point out the name and present an address that having proof they may be taken and examined. If you dare to regard our Edict as a useless Paper and Knowing the business accord with it, listening to Foreigners and convey away (the Gold and Silver) secretly; instantly the Servants who keep the Offices will seize and beside the illegal shopmen being delivered over to the Officers of the District to be severely dealt with, the said Security merchants and Linguists also offending will not find it expedient. Attend to this. Do not slight it. Thus the Edict.

Kia-King 14th Year 6th Month 20th Day.

LXVI

EXTORTION AND HOMICIDE, 1810

THE season 1810 opened with the old Select Committee, composed of Messrs. J. W. Roberts, T. C. Pattle, W. Bramston, and J. F. Elphinstone. On December 6, 1810, they were replaced by a new Committee, as will be mentioned later, consisting of Mr. Henry Browne (President), Mr. John Fullarton Elphinstone, and Mr. William Parry. The books were opened on February 28th with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury		26,995	
Tea in stock, 22,486 piculs		516,695	
Lead unsold		148,329	
Owing by Chinese merchants:			
Puiqua	170,180		
Mowqua	331,366		
Ponqua	265,854		
Chunqua	174,482		
Gnewqua	396,793		
Conseequa	610,626		
Exchin	81,968		
Manhop	183,466		
Poonequa	34,822		
Lyqua	252,345		
Fatqua	115,411		
		2,617,313	
			3,309,332
Dr. to Factory account		1,795	
Tinqua		3,920	
			5,715
Credit Balance			3,303,617

During the season the Company loaded 15 ships for London—14 Indiamen of 16,718 tons, and 1 Botany Bay ship of about 600 tons—total 17,318 tons chartered tonnage. The records of the commercial transactions are not complete, and it is impossible to state exactly the amount realized from the English imports, but there are indications that for the same number of ships, 14, it was not less than in the previous season, or about Tls. 3,200,000; Indian products on Company's account (cotton, Tls. 555,636;

sandalwood, Tls. 89,861) realized Tls. 645,497; a total of Tls. 3,845,497.

The treasury received in silver 46,192 dollars for bills on London at 5*s.* 1*d.* and 455 days after sight; 1,591,070 dollars for bills on Bengal at 44 and 30 days; 238,043 dollars for certificates; 77,536 dollars under Indian engagements; total 1,952,841 dollars. In addition Chinese merchants paid in silver 737,087 dollars, making the total receipts in silver 2,689,928 dollars = Tls. 1,936,748. *Per contra* the Committee sent to England in the ships of war and the Indiamen 1,402,461 dollars, reducing the net receipts, to Tls. 926,976. The investment by the 15 ships was invoiced at Tls. 4,196,857. In addition supplies for the Cape of Good Hope were sent invoiced at Tls. 84,332 and for St. Helena at Tls. 1,627.

The trade particulars for the season, as recorded, were as follows:

	Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Nankeens.*
	No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
English { Company	15	107,039	203,723	715	2,692
English { Country	19	143,527	6,021	554	1,299
American	15	1,905	21,643	366	6,391
	49	252,471	231,387	1,635	10,382

In the above figures for the English Company's ships homeward are included both the Company's trade and private trade; the invoiced quantities for the Company's trade alone were—tea 147,831 piculs, silk 614 piculs, nankeens 121,000 pieces (there being about 100 pieces in one picul). Of the silk by the country ships there were, as reported, 358 piculs Canton and 196 piculs Nanking; and by American ships 266 piculs Canton and 100 piculs Nanking. Of the American ships 12 are reported as having brought 2,679,126 dollars in specie. Of ginseng American ships brought 1,165 piculs, English none. American ships brought 27,764 sealskins, 39,412 other fine furs; English, 4,440 fine furs, 46,850 rabbit skins.

The American ship *Atahualpa*, Captain Brown, arrived from New York on September 23, 1810. If this is the same ship as the *Atahualpa*, Captain Sturgis, from Boston,[1] which arrived on August 23, 1809, it is another instance of a quick passage.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 108.

During the season the British navy seems to have left American shipping alone in Chinese waters.

Mr. Roberts seems to have been of a strong and masterful character, and must, sooner or later, inevitably have found himself in collision with the oligarchic body of merchants who constituted the Court of Directors; and in particular the Court resented any action which might lead to a stoppage of business. They were too shrewd in business to encourage insubordination or dissension among their agents; but they went out of their way on occasion to express their approval of the dissenting minutes of Mr. Pattle, who expressed his disagreement with the President more frequently than had been customary in recent years. And yet the candid student of the records must recognize that, while Mr. Roberts was bold, generally judicious and prompt in his decisions, Mr. Pattle's sagacity was more commonly of that *ex post facto* order which is outspoken when the consequences are fully developed, but has little to say when the decision is taken. The Court in London could only judge by results and had been somewhat impressed by Mr. Pattle's insight, and Mr. Roberts had for some time been in the cold shade of their censure. They had been alarmed by the rice embroglio in 1806,[1] and in their general instructions of February 26, 1808, in renewing the mandate to the existing Select Committee, they did so in words which are thus summarized in the Committee's records:

From what we have already said it will be evident that the part taken by Mr. Roberts in transactions relative to Rice has been displeasing to the Court nevertheless relying upon his good intentions and general good conduct continue him as President of Select Committee. Appointment of other Members. Mr. Pattle nominated to succeed as President on Death or Departure of Mr. Roberts. Every Member of Select Committee to be divested of all concerns in Agency or private Business of any kind. No vacancy in the Committee to be filled up until reduced below three members.

This censure was received as Admiral Drury arrived, and striking testimony to Mr. Roberts's loyalty, to his boldness in decision, and his clearness of thought, is borne by the fact that, with this hanging over him, he lost none of his accustomed boldness, and even assumed a dictatorship when separated from the Committee,

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 37.

on which he was only *primus inter pares*. In the occupation of Macao and its consequences he again excited the apprehensions of the Court of Directors, and Messrs. Roberts, Pattle, and Bramston were dropped from the Select Committee, on which they record a minute:

> Conscious of having ever acted in the manner they conceived most conducive to the Interests of the H'ble Company tho' they may feel severely at the present moment the displeasure of the Hon'ble Court as extended towards some of the members and the censure of all, they do not doubt being ultimately justified.

To carry on the Company's business Mr. Henry Browne, who had retired from active service at the close of the season 1795, was sent out again to be President; Mr. J. F. Elphinstone of the existing Committee was continued; and Mr. William Parry, the senior supercargo below the Committee, was raised to the Committee as third member. They took over on December 6, 1810; and although, under the Court's instructions of April 11, 1810,

> Mr. Browne as President is invested with discretionary powers to act without the concurrence of the Select Committee similar to the powers granted in certain cases to the Governors in India,

he was so loyally and cordially supported by all his colleagues, that in his report of January 31, 1811, he wrote:

> Mr. Browne considers himself honored by this unusual mark of the H'ble Courts confidence but hopes if he may venture to judge from the cordial co-operation and ready assistance he has hitherto experienced from his Colleagues on every thing conducive to the H'ble Company's interests that few Occasions will occur on which the exercise of these powers will be required.

Mr. Roberts, for urgent family affairs, sailed for England in the first fleet, dispatched on February 11th. Mr. Browne, dreading the effects of a hot season on his constitution, left in the second fleet on March 23, 1811.

Sir G. T. Staunton returned to his post at Canton in company with Mr. Browne; and Mr. Plowden returned to England by the first fleet, having been certified for 'a weak constitution and a generally impaired state of health'. Sir G. T. Staunton, for his excellent service in the Edward Sheen affair, had been rewarded by the Court (Instruction of February 26, 1808) with

the post of interpreter to the factory at a salary of £500 a year, additional to his emoluments as supercargo; but, having been absent from China, he could enjoy the salary only from this date of his return. During his absence and since Mr. Manning's departure, all interpreting had been done by Mr. Robert Morrison. The Court of Directors did not at first correctly appreciate the value of Mr. Morrison's services and had disallowed his salary of 2,000 dollars a year, but Mr. Browne, the man on the spot, saw more clearly how necessary he was, even after Sir G. T. Staunton's return, and continued to employ—and to pay—him.

Altho' our secret instructions of the 23rd April last undoubtedly require that Mr. Morrison's allowance should be discontinued, yet as the essential services rendered by him in the negotiations with the Chinese Government last season had not at that time come to the knowledge of the Hon'ble Court and his present services as a teacher in promoting the object so much desired of extending the knowledge of the Chinese Language more generally among the Servants of the Company in China does not appear to have been at all in the H'ble Court's Contemplation we conceive we shall be fully warranted under these Circumstances in continuing to Mr. Morrison his present salary in the Capacity of Teacher and occasional Translator of the Chinese Language until the H'ble Courts pleasure is known.

The importance of correct translations was obvious. It was of the first importance to understand the full bearing of the mandates from Viceroy or Hoppo, not from the casual rendering by the merchants into pidgin English, but by reference to the original Chinese document; and it was of even greater importance that the full force of the Committee's arguments should be communicated to the officials.

Our Letter [to the Viceroy] has undergone some change in passing thro' their [the merchants'] hands by lowering the Title applied to the Governor General [Lord Minto] and adding several characters expressive of the extensive fame &c of the Viceroy, instead of saying with us that we should gladly fulfil the wishes of our Government they made it that we would gladly go and obey them, and the Governor General's wish to shew a friendly disposition is entirely omitted, if these alterations can be made in letters written in their own language how little can we depend upon those transmitted altogether in English.

Another valid reason existed for sending and receiving official communications in the Chinese language.

Having been informed that the practice still continues of shewing the English Copies of our letters to the Government of Canton to many foreigners and that our late Address had been shewn to several and even Portuguese writers from whose information a translation was pretended to be made more agreeable to the Views of the Mandarins than that of the Foreigners, to obviate misrepresentations of this nature we propose in future to send only the Chinese translation.

The private trade of the commanders and officers of the ships was of some value. In one case it is noted that the second officer of the *Surat Castle*, being entitled to a privilege of six tons, sold the privilege to his captain for £40 a ton.

Among the Hong Merchants Mowqua has for three seasons past been reported as about to retire, retiring, or retired; but at the opening of the season 1810 it was reported that he had not yet received permission to retire; at the height of the season it was recorded that

Mowqua has not yet accomplished his final arrangement with the Mandarins for his release from the responsibility of the Hong [Cohong] and his services by his occasional transaction with the Company are still valuable tho' he declines taking any regular share of their business.

At the close of the season he was still in harness, with as little prospect as ever of being able to buy his freedom.

Puiqua, otherwise Howqua, at the opening of the season had announced his intention of retiring and maintained it against all arguments; but as early as March 4, 1810, it was known that the Hoppo had refused his permission; and two days later his shares in the woollens and the teas, which had been kept unassigned, were formally assigned to him.

Manhop got into difficulties at the end of October, when his partner Inqua absconded. With the English Company Manhop's accounts were clear, but Inqua had made with the Spanish Company a contract to deliver a large quantity of raw silk, which he was unable to carry out. Manhop tried to disavow responsibility for Inqua's commitment, but Mr. Roberts convinced him that this was a mistaken policy, and he accepted the liability.

Next in seniority below Mowqua and Howqua, who both professed an intention of retiring, came Chunqua, who acted as senior merchant in routine affairs during this season. With him the Committee found reason for displeasure, as will be narrated

later. Next to him came Conseequa, below whom all were considered as junior merchants with small capital and little experience, except that with Poonequa extensive contracts for raw silk were made. With Conseequa negotiations were opened for the construction of a new factory.

The Company had long felt the need of more spacious premises, in which they could stock larger quantities of winter teas. The importation of woollens also had assumed large proportions—269,000 pieces, about 15,000 bales, in the season 1809—and under existing conditions it was necessary to deliver the greater part of these immediately after landing; if a change should be made, as was in Mr. Roberts's mind, in the system of disposing of the imports, it would then be necessary to have warehousing space to keep them on hand from one season to the next. As they were finally settled, the thirteen factories in the old factory days had each a depth of over 500 feet, with range after range of buildings running gridiron-like across the width, which varied from 40 feet to 100 feet or more. As shown in the diagram [1] the old factory occupied by the English Company had a width of about 65 feet, while the new factory for which the Committee now negotiated had a width of about 120 feet. The new factory was bounded on the one side by the Dutch factory, and on the other by Hog Lane, and it took in all the shops on that side. The property belonged to Puankhequa, who agreed to sell it for Tls. 66,520; this sum was advanced by the Committee to Conseequa on March 5, 1810, to enable him to buy it, and the Company was to pay him an annual rent of Tls. 6,398. In July, when the dispute over Gnewqua's estate was raging, word was received at Macao that all progress on new buildings at Canton had been stopped, including even necessary repairs to the factories. There might have arisen some suspicion that the other Hong Merchants were intriguing to prevent the Company from being able to hold up its imports; but in the following November it was seen that it was only part of a policy of pin-pricks directed against foreigners in general.

A most extraordinary and unprecedented Transaction took place this Evening in the proceedings of the Chinese Government with respect

[1] The diagram is not contemporary, but is from a survey made in 1840.

to Mr. Dobell an American Gentleman many years resident in Canton and latterly living in the Factory formerly held by the Danish Company.

This building belonged to Conseequa, and when in July building and repairs elsewhere were stopped, he considered that the order did not apply to this factory and continued some repairs which he had in hand. It was now, in November, charged that Mr. Dobell was troublesome, kept a drinking saloon, &c., and he was summoned to the Consoo House and ordered to quit Canton within five days. There was in the factory also a man named McGee who kept a boarding-house, and the next day, November 19th, seven Englishmen wrote to the Committee to state that Mr. McGee and they, who boarded with him, had all been ordered to leave. By the 24th it had become clear that the aim was to involve Conseequa in an obstinate refusal by the foreigners to leave, and that, as their Security, he would then be amenable to being squeezed. Mr. Dobell, who was not conscious of having committed any offence, broke off his business and went to Macao, in order to clear Conseequa. The ejectment of Mr. McGee and his boarders was not carried out. It is possible, however, that Conseequa was not allowed to escape; for a month later, December 17th, he asked the Committee to lend him 50,000 dollars repayable in three months (i. e. over the Chinese New Year) 'in order to enable him to meet the immediate demands against him on account of his duties to Government'. He deposited 'American securities' as collateral and received the loan.

With the senior merchants thus hampered and the juniors as yet untried, relations between supercargoes and merchants were somewhat confused. The woollens were in the coming season to be settled on a different principle, but for the season 1810 they were distributed at prearranged prices and in prearranged shares; only the camlets were held back, and their sale was not arranged for until quite the close of the season.

To maintain the prices of Camlets in the China market by a regulated and gradual sale; to secure Cash payments; and to render the profit whatever it may be which the Purchaser by judicious management is enabled to realize applicable to the reduction of our balances in the hands of Chinese Merchants are all three considerations of material importance and which cannot be otherwise combined than by employing

on this occasion the Agency of one of the junior Merchants who may be supposed to act in the business wholly under our direction and control.

Goqua was selected for this agency, receiving the camlets at fixed prices (Tls. 29 for first sort, Tls. 25 for second, Tls. 20 for third), but paying the duties and accounting for the actual net receipts. He acted, in fact, as the Company's broker, thus breaking away from the traditions of a century.

The Court sent out a trial lot of copper manufactured into bolts, nails, staples, &c., invoiced at Tls. 28 a picul. They found no market, had to be melted into bars, and the highest price obtainable was Tls. 18·70. A trial lot of iron bars was sent invoiced at Tls. 2·80 a picul and sold for Tls. 3·25. Window glass sent out, invoiced at Tls. 29·25, was sold for Tls. 25·20 per case of 200 square feet.

This season, for the first time, the Court ordered 100 piculs of Canton silk to be included in the investment. The full season purchases of tea were appreciated at the following prices :

	Congo.	Souchong.	Twankay.	Hyson Skins.	Hyson.
Middling good	..	..	..	32	64
Good mid. to mid. good	..	..	..	..	62
Good middling	..	50	34	31	60
Middling to good mid.	..	48	32	30	58
Middling	..	45	30	29	56
But middling to mid.	..	42	29	28	52
But middling	..	40	28	27	50
But mid. Souchong flavour	..	36–38	..	..	..
Good ord. to but mid.	29	..	27	26	45
Good ordinary	27	..	26	25	..
Ord. to good ord.	26	..	24	24	..

The trade was still conducted practically by barter, except now for the first time in the case of camlets. After a century of obviously vain repetition, the Court in their instructions for this season again conveyed their disapproval of trade by barter, and renewed their injunction that every purchase and every sale should be treated as an independent transaction. Strict conformity to this instruction was out of the question.

At the close of the season 1807 the Chinese merchants owed the Company a sum close on three and half million taels, and the Court (January 11, 1809) complained that this state of the account was not compensated by any corresponding advantage ;

the gain in the price of tea under winter contracts for which advances were made being not more than 3½ per cent., while the Governments in India had frequently to borrow money at 12 per cent. per annum. At the close of the season 1809 Mr. Roberts and the Committee pointed out that this state of indebtedness was inevitable; that the merchants had in general no great superfluity of cash; that their cash was required for payments to be made to the officials; that the imports—woollens, &c.—could only be disposed of on credit, creating a debt due to the Company; that this debt could only be liquidated by the delivery of exports, tea and silk—by barter in fact; and that in the main the process must then be repeated. A year later (March 30, 1810) the Court had again to draw attention to the heavy balances due from Chinese merchants; and, in his turn, Mr. Browne could only assure them that every exertion would be made to reduce them as rapidly as possible. The financial anxieties of the Court were greatly increased by some recent losses among their shipping, and they sent instructions (January 5, 1810) which were thus summarized:

> Numerous and afflicting losses recently sustained by the Hon'ble Company's Shipping; consequent embarrassments; necessity of the utmost economy being practiced as well as decisive measures resorted to to restore vigor to the home finances. No bills to be drawn on the H'ble Court except in conformity to their particular directions.

To this especial reason for embarrassment might have been added the general stringency occasioned by fifteen years of war. The stringency was great, so much so that the Committee were informed that 'no duties will be levied on the importation of Bullion by the Company or by the King'.

For three seasons before this the Committee had made large remittances of specie to India, and in the third of the three it had been made optional to tranship the silver for India or to carry it to England; and in this season, 1810, the entire amount remitted was shipped to London. The Court (January 11, 1809) ordered that the balance at the end of a season remaining in the Committee's hands should not exceed £300,000 (Tls. 900,000), that the Chinese accounts should be settled, and that

> the most expeditious and prudent measures be adopted to recover the amount due to the Company and that the same may be remitted without delay to India.

The consciences of the Directors, accustomed to legal and straightforward methods in London, were pricked by the thought of acting contrary to the law in Canton; and they expressed

their solicitude that no offence be given to the Chinese Govt. from the export of Bullion and hope the Chinese are too well acquainted with principles of Trade and its advantages to persist in the regulations respecting the exportation of Specie. . . . We think it probable that the difficulties to export of Specie arise with inferior Mandarins from their receiving a fee for conniving at its being shipped which they lose when embarked with an Order of Govt., or a hope that the Specie would be paid to themselves may occasion hostility on the part of the Merchants.

And then follows an injunction which makes it hard to believe that the historiographer of Pecksniff had not yet risen above the horizon:

The Court are averse to Committee's giving a reward for Breach of Duty but no objection to Committee's giving a fee to Mandarins for exportation of Bullion if expedient.

It was sycee—Chinese shoes or ingots of silver—of which the exportation was specifically prohibited; and the Court expressed their

approval of purchase of Sycee; terms advantageous in first cost and beneficial in operations of Calcutta Mint; recommend when its purity can be ascertained the purchase to be continued.

The Committee had a 'gentleman's understanding' with the Hong Merchants not to send sycee from Canton to Whampoa, but they considered themselves free to receive it at Macao and ship it from that port;[1] and in this season they accepted an offer from Poonequa to deliver to them at Macao Tls. 200,000 in sycee silver at 3 per cent. premium. The contract was accepted expressly as

affording a favorable remittance for our surplus funds either to India or Europe and placing at our command a sum for shipment free from the difficulties experienced at Canton.

Mr. Pattle remained at Macao through the entire season, one of his duties being to receive and keep all silver so paid in; and on December 29th Captain Byng, the convoying officer, wrote to the Committee:

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 102, 106.

as by information from Macao I understand there is money ready to be embarked for England, I beg to offer H.M.S. *Belliqueux* as a Depot, that it may be ready to distribute on board such Indiamen as you may please to direct, to prevent the least possibility of delay after the Ships have joined me.

Besides sycee whole clean dollars provided the most desirable form of remittance, and of these the Chief of the Spanish Factory informed the Committee on September 2nd that he had received 400,000 from Manila, which he would deliver in Macao, receiving in exchange orders on the Company's treasury in Canton. This offer was accepted; the dollars were received on H.M.S. *Belliqueux*, which arrived that day from the Straits of Sunda, left on board that ship, and carried in her to England, her captain receiving 1½ per cent. as freight paid in Canton.

The Committee received instructions from the Governor-General in Council (May 11 and June 5, 1810) that they might draw *to any extent* on Bengal and ship the proceeds in specie to London if the Court of Directors should so order, otherwise to Bombay when it could be utilized. Under this permission the bulk of the bills granted were on Bengal, 1,591,070 dollars; but, against distinct orders, bills on London additional to certificates were granted for 46,192 dollars at 5*s.* 1*d.* and 455 days (a rate unusually disadvantageous for the remitter) because of

the facility afforded to the Trade of the place by having the advantage of remittance to Europe thro' the H'ble Company's Treasury and also by preventing the Americans from deriving advantage to injury of the Company from the means the want of such Channel affords them in obtaining funds.

There is here a hint that the Americans were making a beginning of providing funds for their investment by taking out negotiable bills on London instead of specie. The silver collected at Macao amounted to '53 chests of Treasure besides 28 Boxes of Sycee Silver', and was embarked on the fleet when it passed Macao Road on March 12, 1811. The 400,000 dollars on H.M.S. *Belliqueux* had also been received at Macao. Among the specie received at Macao was doubtless some from the proceeds of the sale of opium.

The Funds required for our homeward Investment beyond the Amount of Cargoes from Europe and Consignments from India we are of opinion may be pretty confidently relied upon and be obtainable in specie thro' the Opium Trade whiles the quantity imported is confined within the

limits adopted for some years past and continues to be manufactured of the present quality which seems to be best suited to the demands of the China Market.

So Mr. Browne to the Court of Directors on January 31, 1811, but on the previous October 25th Mr. Roberts had thought it well to point out to the Governor-General a possible leakage. The official Bengal product had to face competition from Persian and Malwa opium imported through Portuguese channels from Goa and Daman, and Turkey opium imported by Americans from Smyrna, but now he reported to Lord Minto that 80 chests of opium had been imported from Fort St. George in the Hon'ble Company's ships *Woodford* and *Alfred*, of such inferior quality that they could not be Bengal opium. So far as the records show the carriage of opium in the Company's ships was strictly prohibited; and it is not stated if this consignment was in the tonnage hired out or in the commander's private trade. No further particulars are recorded.

The King's ships actually convoying Indiamen or waiting for their return convoy were now recognized as being engaged on their lawful occasions and were treated with a certain degree of toleration; but ships of war coming in singly were at once ordered away. This happened in the case of the

Ship *Putnam* Danvers prize to a Squadron of H.M.S. Ships having been in the Harbour when the Island of Amboyna surrendered. This Ship sailed with a fleet for Malacca but fell to leeward of the Straits of Sincapore and being light could not effect her passage . . . they bore up for China as a last resource.

The ship was probably an American ship seized on suspicion of being engaged in Dutch trade. She arrived at Macao on July 12th; and on the 27th the English Chief was commanded to order the ship to set sail and return to her own country.

The Communication is the usual form of Civility with which Ships of War are greeted on their arrival at Macao but as no further steps are usually taken they generally pass unnoticed.

Ships on regular convoy duty were now tolerated.

We have the satisfaction to observe that boats have since [January 1809] been suffered to pass and repass the Bogue without molestation and that H.M. Ships which have lain at the Anchorage of Chunpee this Season have been supplied by regular Compradore and without further interruption or embarrassment from the Chinese Govt.

This was written on January 31, 1811, and Mr. Browne attributed the improvement to the fact of 'the Conduct of the Officers and Crews being acknowledged unexceptionable', but added that this provided no guarantee for the future. The naval officer in those days of a protracted naval war enjoyed some amenities which are denied to his successor in the twentieth century.

Sept. 16. Anchored on the [Macao] Roads this Morning H.M.S. *Modeste* from Calcutta having parted from the H.C.S. *Ocean*[1] off Pulo Ṣapata on the 5th Inst.

Sept. 18. In the Evening the Hon'ble Capt'n and Mrs. Elliot landed from H.M.S. *Modeste*.

Captain Elliot was presumably of the family of Lord Minto and may have received special indulgence; but the batta allowed to King's officers while serving the Hon'ble Company was tangible and general. To all the King's ships engaged on convoy duty was paid batta of £500 per annum to the commander and £250 to the wardroom, beginning when arriving at the longitude of Madagascar and ending two months after leaving Canton (or an Indian port?) bound for England. In October, 1810, Captain (acting Commodore) George Byng of H.M.S. *Belliqueux* claimed double batta, or £1,000 per annum, which was the right of the second in command on the India station, he being then senior captain, and Admiral Drury the sole officer of flag rank.

At the time of the occupation of Macao the ships at Whampoa held themselves ready to drop down the river without pilots, had the step become necessary, and the need of a correct survey was evident, and was brought to the notice of the Court. They replied, as might have been expected, that

the Survey between the Bocca Tigris and Whampoa however desirable should not be attempted without the permission of the Chinese Government.

Mr. Browne replied that the survey might easily be carried out without express sanction since no attention would be paid to boats passing up and down,

but if a previous application to the Viceroy or other Mandarins is considered necessary we are apprehensive that this object however

[1] The *Ocean* was not again heard from.

desirable must be left unaccomplished as from our repeated experience in the jealousy and suspicions of the Chinese Govt. nothing in such a case but a refusal can be expected.

The pirates at the close of the last season were engaged in negotiations with the Viceroy, their fleet being assembled just below the Bogue; and when the fleet of Indiamen with their convoying ships of war took their departure from Chuenpi on March 2, 1810, the Ladrone fleet also got under way, as if apprehensive of an attack. On the 9th it was reported that the negotiations were entirely broken off and that the Viceroy had returned to Canton deeply chagrined. The ways being still blocked, the members of the factory took passage to Macao in a country ship arriving there on the 12th; but the Chop boats with the luggage were held up at Heungshan.

On April 8th it was reported that

the female Leader of the Pirates has gone up to Canton to arrange with the Viceroy the submission of all the Force and she is supposed to possess considerable influence over Apo Tsi the most formidable of the Pirates in this neighbourhood. Sanguine hopes are still entertained of ultimate Success. From all we can learn the Ladrones are very indifferent to the proposals of the Viceroy saying if he wishes them to return to their allegiance they have no objection provided their terms are agreed to. Some provision for the support of the people generally is said to be demanded and Apo Tsi requires for himself to retain Eighty armed boats under the pretence of employing them against the Pirates that remain and thirty or forty more to be employed in the Salt Trade.

On the 10th the Viceroy arrived at Heungshan to reopen the negotiations, and on the 20th it was reported that Apo Tsi's conditions had been accepted, he to receive his imperial commission and a subsidy of Tls. 18,000 a month. On May 20th Apo Tsi paid a state visit to Canton, on the 23rd he was at Macao, calling, among others, on Senhor Arreaga, the late Dezembargador; and it may now be assumed that the ex-poacher was fully installed in his post of gamekeeper.

In the meantime Lord Minto, in answer to the representations of Mr. Roberts, had taken steps to make an offer of effective help to the Chinese authorities; and under his instructions the Bombay Government fitted out the Company's cruiser *Vesta*; 12 guns, to proceed at once, taking a detachment of H.C. Artillery on board, to join the *Antelope* and the *Teignmouth*, then engaged

on surveying and cruising in Chinese waters. She was to be followed by the *Numa*, 14 guns, *Nautilus*, 14 guns, *Mornington*, 20 guns, and *Ariel*, 12 guns, as they returned to Bombay. Dispatches to this effect reached the Committee and the offer was made to the Viceroy on July 18th. The Viceroy being still engaged in completing his conquest of the pirates, the Governor answered on his behalf that he welcomed this faithful and sincere compliance with their duty, but

> the Pirates of consequence in Kwangtung are all now separated exterminated and at rest, the whole number is reduced to profound Tranquillity so that there is no occasion for assistance.

This was received on August 12th; and on the 23rd the pirates were reported to be defying the Viceroy to the westward. On October 24th the Committee record that the reformed pirates, long accustomed to a life of freedom from control,

> might be expected to return to their former habits. In this opinion we are unfortunately confirmed by the numerous depredations we hear of as committed by these supposed reformed Pirates on Shore and as it is said a considerable Ladrone force still exists to the Westward of this Port we fear e'er long they will become as formidable as ever.

Three months later, on January 15, 1811, Mr. Dobell while on his way from Canton to Macao was attacked by pirates, but succeeded in beating them off; and on January 31st Mr. Browne reported to the Court that he still feared a relapse of the reformed pirates,

> tho' it may probably be some time before our apprehensions are completely realized the daring outrages which are already committed by the River Pirates at no great distance from Canton seem further to justify these suspicions.

The Viceroy who conducted the negotiations with the Ladrones was at first suspended from his post, but in March, 1811, news was received that

> an Imperial Edict is arrived by which the Viceroy is recalled to Pekin but at the same time appointed to the situation of a principal Magistrate of Hing Pu or Supreme Court of Justice. The Edict likewise announced the nomination of the Viceroy of the Provinces of Kiang Naan and Kiang Si, Sung Ta Zen, to the vacant office at the head of the Government. . . . This Officer is said to have held high military rank in the State and to be the same who attended Lord Macartney's Embassy from Pekin to Heng-chew-fou from the very high estimation in which

that officer was then held we should be happy to receive a confirmation on the subject.

The Consoo charges had engaged the attention of the Court and they had instructed the Committee to report on them. At the close of the season 1809 Mr. Roberts wrote that

they are reported to amount to 700,000 Tales and from the greatly increased effrontery with which the Mandarins now oppress the Merchants and Sums that have been expended in fruitless attempts to destroy the Pirates which we really believe falls on them we do not believe the sum exaggerated.

The Committee had reason to believe, as the result of later inquiry, that in addition to the imperial duty, and accretions which trebled and quadrupled it, the merchants had to pay—not the theoretic 3 per cent. which was the normal rate for the Consoo levy—but 2 taels a picul or 14 per cent. on cotton imported, and 3 taels or a general average of 10 per cent. on tea exported.

When we demand from the Merchants the cause of this heavy and encreased demand we are told it arises from the large sums they are compelled to pay on acct. of Armaments against the Pirates, the supply of Clocks Watches and other pieces of Mechanism for transmission to Pekin together with other payments to their Government as all sums paid by the Merchants are ultimately defrayed by the European trade when they are called upon to discharge the debts of a bankrupt Merchant to Foreigners the sum is in fact paid by Foreigners themselves at the same time the Merchants are sufferers from being obliged to advance the money which in their present embarrassed state but few of them are able to support.

The loss from the Consoo levy was not in money alone, but from the delays occasioned by the irregular levy of indeterminate charges. Mr. Browne arrived on December 6th, but the Hoppo did not go to Whampoa to measure the ships until the 18th, when

we have to observe with regret that their unloading has not yet commenced partly under the pretence of waiting till after the Ceremony of the Measurage, but chiefly in fact we apprehend from the difficulty some of the Merchants are under of giving the Hoppo a satisfactory assurance of the payments of the heavy contributions which on various pretexts are annually levied on them.

While the Committee complained of the loss and impediment, the merchants complained no less of the continued importation

of clocks and watches, and of curious pieces of mechanism, which the Hoppo forced them to buy, but which, they constantly hinted, they hoped that the Committee would not allow to be imported; and they pointed out that the constant stoppage of the trade of particular ships, directed ostensibly against the Security Merchant because he was niggardly of his watches, fell in fact on the Committee's trade. Moreover the refusal of the Grand Chop to the whole fleet at the end of January was, in the opinion of the Committee, not actually due to the unsettled homicide of the previous season, but was a move in the game of clocks and sing-songs (musical boxes). A similar motive was suspected for a charge of smuggling brought in this season against the Security Merchant of the *Perseverance* in connexion with two bales of cloth sent as part of the ransom of the mate of the *Marquis of Ely* in the previous season.

The Circumstance had been previously mentioned to the Merchants and they were strongly recommended to induce the Hoppo to put a stop to such proceedings as the Compradore if seized might most unwillingly implicate some of their body and if the Mandarins found this mode of extorting money succeed it might be carried to any extent.

Among 'Charges Extraordinary' in the factory account there were some that were really part of the ordinary running expenses, such as the salaries of the two surgeons and the allowances for interpreting and for giving instruction in the Chinese language; but there were some arising from exactions. Among these were the expenses of the annual migration to Macao and back to Canton, which were steadily increasing. Then there were the expenses attending 'the interchange of civilities which took place between the officers of Government and ourselves', which in February, 1812, are recorded as having in one season amounted to 4,000 dollars, entered under Charges Extraordinary.

For the bankrupt Gnewqua's estate Mr. Roberts had, at the close of the season 1809, proposed a mode of administration which promised at once justice for the creditors and equity for the debtor. The proposal had been accepted by the merchants with much misgiving and had been approved by the Hoppo after some delay; but Mr. Roberts had not correctly gauged the mind of Chinese officials if he expected them to care much about either justice for the creditors or equity for the debtor, if they should

tend to diminish in any degree the perquisites of the official class. The receiver selected by Mr. Roberts was one Ashing, who had been in the employ of Ponqua, and the awakening came with the news brought on May 23rd to Mr. Roberts at Macao that Ashing had been arrested and was in prison at Canton. No communication was made to the Committee, but on June 3rd rumour informed them that Ashing's arrest was because of his connexion with Gnewqua's affairs; on the 11th that 'Ashing still continues in confinement and has experienced very severe treatment'; and on the 12th that Gnewqua had been arrested and sent to prison. On the 22nd

> we learn with extreme regret that the Manderins are proceeding with great violence in the persecution of Ashing and also in the examination of Gnewqua and Ponqua. Ashing seems the particular object of their cruelty and they have been practiced to such a degree that tho' he long persisted in a fair statement of the Facts he is said ultimately from extreme suffering to have been compelled to declare whatever the Mandarins thought proper to dictate and in this way has been made to confess much matter injurious to the H'ble Company and disgraceful to its representatives in China.

In the terms of the Viceroy's mandate it was in fact charged against the Committee that

> the Chinese Villain Wu Ah-Chung has violated the prohibition and secretly become a Hung-mao [red-haired] foreign Merchants Sha-wan [possibly gauze veil or screen] hooked and strung on [entered into a conspiracy] with Gnewqua and in the dark making use of the foreigners wealth carried on Gnewqua's hong to the detriment of the inland tea dealers,

who to the number of sixty-four had presented an humble petition to the Viceroy. Conceiving that the Viceroy must either be playing 'a villainous part' or that he 'could not have been correctly informed of the motives that induced the arrangement for the settlement of Gnewqua's affairs', Mr. Roberts applied for a Chop to authorize himself, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Morrison to go to Canton; and on June 30th was informed in reply that there was no occasion for him to return to Canton before the arrival of his ships. Unwilling to force an issue on the question of their right to go to Canton when their business should necessitate it, the Committee sent a memorial to the Hoppo, protesting

and explaining. At the same time they were subjected to what had become a frequent cause of annoyance.

July 2. In consequence of the orders issued to ascertain the number of servants employed by Europeans, our Compradores and other attendants have been much alarmed ; and latterly been afraid to move out of our houses, exposing the factory to much inconvenience and placing us in a situation that we fear must appear disgraceful in the eyes of the Chinese.

On July 9th it was learned that Gnewqua and Ashing had been thrown into the Nan-hai-hien's common jail where they must be unfortunately exposed to the misery of a Chinese prison in all its horrors.

On the 13th the Committee drew up a memorial to the Governor of Kwangtung. On the 21st

we understand that Ponqua Gnewqua and Ashing have undergone an Examination before the Tribunal of the Gan-cha-sze [Provincial Judge] at which all the Merchants were present . . . Ashing was again punished.

On the 25th the Committee received letters from Gnewqua (recorded in their Secret Department) in which there is a distinct reference to some one unnamed among the merchants who is charged with instigating his persecution. On August 1st, as they heard of the impending return of the Viceroy to Canton, they prepared a memorial in order to explain to him the rectitude of their motives and to assure him of the falsehood of the charges brought against them. No reply had been received to any of their memorials when, on September 2nd, the four senior merchants appeared at Macao to urge the Committee to address the Viceroy,

stating that we had undertaken the plan proposed for the liquidation of Gnewquas debts from being unwilling to intrude on his time and that in the nomination of Ashing we were not aware that the laws were violated but thanked the Viceroy for the measures he had taken and submitted the adjustment to him. An address of this nature acknowledging an Error we did not feel conscious of having committed and containing declarations so contrary to our former statements could not be consented to.

The Committee assumed the offensive and charged the merchants with concealment of the facts and the officials with oppression and injustice ; and the merchants retired. The Heungshan Hien then, on the 3rd, brought forward similar proposals ; on the 7th they were again produced by the Namhoi Hien, Heungshan

Hien, and Künming Fu, who visited the Committee together; on the 8th mandarins and merchants all hastily returned to Canton. On the 13th they all appeared again at Macao and handed to the Committee a document from the Künming Fu embodying the Viceroy's reply, of which it is recorded that it was

> highly insulting and its general tenor so violent and unjust that we could hope little justice or redress from a Magistrate capable of addressing us in such terms. A letter of this nature might probably have the effect of intimidating his own Countrymen and inducing them to act as he wished but it became us to prove we were not to be influenced by such motives and that we would not silently submit to unmerited insult.

On the 16th they received a second document of which they note:

> It appeared idle to attempt replying or arguing against such falsehood and repetition of demands so frequently and positively refused.

On September 23rd Mr. Roberts resolved that, with or without a permit, he would go to Canton with Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Morrison on the 26th, though 'feeling aware that at Canton they will probably be exposed to much insult'.

On his arrival at Canton Mr. Roberts was visited at once by the merchants and by an officer deputed by the Viceroy, to assure him that, though he had committed grave errors, the Viceroy was magnanimous and summoned him to a personal interview; Mr. Roberts further found that none of his memorials had been delivered. It was suggested that he could now deliver in person his address to the Viceroy, but he considered it essential that before a meeting, the Viceroy should be possessed of the sentiments of the Committee. The letter was sent in on October 1st, and returned on the 2nd,

> having occasioned the Viceroy to be much displeased indeed the Merchants themselves seemed to consider the tenor as extremely reprehensible.

The interview with the Viceroy did not take place. On the 6th the Hoppo referred to the amount of duties owing and unpaid—Tls. 89,000 from Gnewqua, Tls. 88,000 from Ponqua, besides Tls. 30,000 as contribution for suppressing piracy—ordered that the sums be paid by the Hong Merchants collectively, and decreed that their houses and property be sold forthwith. The Hoppo further called upon the creditors to declare the amount of their claims; but this Mr. Roberts resisted as being only

preliminary to imposing new burdens on the trade by an increase in the levy of Consoo charges.

The Committee had been apprehensive lest their trade should be stopped and their ships refused admittance to the river, but the first ships of the season were admitted without delay. In the matter of the bankrupt estates affairs were at a deadlock. On October 16th Mowqua and Puiqua suggested that they should write in their own name to the Viceroy, giving such statement of the facts as the Committee would give; and in despair of carrying through any more equitable arrangement, Mr. Roberts consented. He lived on hope, alternately encouraged and depressed, for a month longer. On November 16th

the Viceroy Fouyen and Hoppo assembled and summoned before them the Hong Merchants when Gnewqua Ponqua and Ashing underwent a strict examination the two former respecting the facts of their having duties unpaid and being indebted to foreigners. Ashing was questioned about his having been employed by Europeans.

In great distress Mr. Roberts then wrote a memorial appealing to the Kinchai, or Imperial High Commissioner, who had just arrived from Peking, imploring him to free Ashing from the punishment awarded for offences for which he was not responsible. On November 24th the Namhoi Hien came with the merchants to announce the Viceroy's decision on the business, which was that the Consoo should discharge the debts of Gnewqua and Ponqua in ten equal annual instalments. Protests from the Committee were met by indignant surprise that any one should venture to resist or criticize the Viceroy's decree. The Committee had planned a repayment in six years without imposing any additional burden on the trade, while the Viceroy extended this to ten years and threw the burden on the Hong Merchants, that is, ultimately on the foreign trade; and Mr. Roberts on the 28th sent to the Viceroy a formal written protest against his decision.

On November 29th Mr. Roberts laid before his colleagues in secret session the cumulative evidence which supported the belief that Chunqua had been at the bottom of all the difficulty. With both Mowqua and Puiqua retired, retiring, or about to retire, Chunqua became the senior of the remaining Hong Merchants, and as such had it in his power to be very helpful

or very obstructive to the Committee; and all the indications went to prove that in this matter

Chunqua is the man to whose persecution Ashing has fallen a victim and the Inconveniences we experience are owing, tho' from a reserve invariable with the Chinese few will decidedly mention his name even in private.

Mr. Roberts was inclined to propose that the Company should have no further dealings with the man, since 'no punishment could be too severe for a man guilty of such iniquitous transactions'. On consideration he proposed to his colleagues that Chunqua's share in the woollens and in the tea contracts should be reduced by one-twentieth; and that henceforth the distribution of the Company's business between the merchants should no longer be made publicly in conclave of the whole body, but should be settled in the secret department and be confidential between the Committee and each merchant. At this stage Mr. Roberts was superseded by Mr. Browne. The latter had not so much acute trouble in the matter, except that there was delay in giving permits to ship several chops of tea delivered under Gnewqua's contracts; but on the eve of the departure of the second fleet (with Mr. Browne on board) the Hoppo sent to the Hong Merchants a long mandate on the iniquity of the Committee's proceedings in relation to the estates of Gnewqua and Ponqua, the inaccuracy of their statements regarding the heavy demands by the mandarins on the Consoo fund, and their audacity in venturing to dispute the decision of the Viceroy.

The said Chief ought therefore to be at rest and wait while the business is managed. Above all the petitions of foreigners have heretofore been written in foreign characters and delivered to the Hong Merchants to be presented and afterwards translated into Chinese and then replied to accordingly instead of which he now all of a sudden addresses a Petition in Chinese Characters in direct terms requesting that a Report may be made thereon to his imperial Majesty. Without doubt some worthless Chinese seeking thereby to spread mischief and dissension has written it in his behalf. Those Hong Merchants also it is impossible they should be ignorant and unimplicated therein most secretly and privately must it be inquired into and when discovered no less severely punished. . . . There must be neither concealment neglect, delay or evasion of any kind as the offence will be most weighty therefore in great haste is this Edict specially issued.

Already on February 15, 1811, Ponqua had died in prison, a not uncommon fate of prisoners in that age. Within the year, on October 19th, an officer of the Viceroy offered to the Committee to release both Gnewqua and Ashing from prison on condition that the term of repayment were extended from ten to sixteen years; but the offer was so hedged about with conditions that it was considered only as a trial balloon, and the Committee did not accept it.

Mr. Browne was not troubled by this case, but its place was taken in a continued course of annoyance by a revival of the affair of the murder of Hwang Ah-shing in January, 1810. On May 10th, more than a month after the dispatch of the ships of that season, Mr. Roberts was disagreeably surprised to receive a letter from the merchants communicating a mandate of the Namhoi Hien requiring them to produce the persons of Weilin, Ngantoni, and Pulula for trial for the murder, to inform him of the name of the ship or ships on which they served, and to indicate the Security Merchants involved.

> We cannot avoid expressing the greatest surprize at the receipt of the Merchants communication of the 10th the discussions relative to Hoang A-Shing we considered as terminated at least as far as we were concerned and nothing can be more unjust than to call upon us at this period to examine and deliver up men they must know have long since quitted China even admitting the fact to be proved that they did belong to some English Ship and doubly so on the uncertain evidence the Chinese seem to possess.

Mr. Roberts heard nothing more of this affair, but on December 9th the senior merchant came to Mr. Browne with a mandate from the Namhoi Hien on the subject, in which he cites his orders from the Provincial Judge:

> If the Security Merchant and the Chief Supercargo, evading our orders and protecting the Criminal fail to deliver him up within the term assigned they must be punished as guilty of the Crime of concealing a Criminal and the said Namhoi Hien shall also be charged before the Emperor according to his share in the responsibility as I can admit in this case of no further indulgence.

On December 26th the Hong Merchants pressed the Committee to act in conformity with this mandate; they declared that an

answer would be only a formality, but the draft which they produced seemed to Mr. Browne to be

> entirely inadmissible the most obvious objection being an indirect acknowledgement which it appeared to give that the Culprit was an Englishman, followed up by a positive promise that in the event of his being punished [? convicted] hereafter in England he should be sent back to China and delivered into the hands of the officers of the Chinese Government.

This position Mr. Browne refused to accept, and on January 3, 1811, he sent to the Viceroy a brief protest against the charges maintained by the Provincial Judge and the Namhoi Hien. This was on the 9th returned by the Viceroy as 'not being in conformity with the established rights of the Chinese legal procedure'. On the 17th the merchants

> renewed with great earnestness their request that we would do something to satisfy the Chinese Government in respect to their demand for the murder of the Chinese last Season, adding that our refusal to give any satisfactory reply on the subject would they feared detain the ships and lead to other embarrassments.

Stopping the ships from entering the river, or from discharging cargo, or from loading exports, or from clearing outwards, was now a facile weapon in the hands of the Chinese authorities. In September the Committee had feared that their ships then arriving might be refused admittance, and made preparations to meet the case. On several occasions in the next four months the shipment of exports to individual ships had been stopped for two or three or more days because of some money dispute between the Hoppo and the Security Merchant. Now on January 21st, on applying for the Grand Chop for the first fleet, then ready to be dispatched, the Committee

> had the mortification to learn that the Mandarins have availed themselves of our anxiety to forward our present dispatch to enforce a compliance with their requisition respecting the affair of the Chinese killed last Season.

The Viceroy handed over his office to the Governor on the 23rd, the 25th was the Chinese New Year, and no further steps were then taken until the 30th, when a mandate from the Hoppo was brought to the factory, maintaining the Chinese position and demanding instant compliance with the orders given. This

was a mere subterfuge. Writing with the full knowledge of Mr. Roberts and all his colleagues, Mr. Browne informed the Court of Directors (January 31, 1811):

> On remonstrating with the Merchants against this unwarrantable and vexatious treatment they were unanimous in acknowledging that the detention of our Ships was a measure of the Chinese Govt. not directed against us but against themselves in consequence of the absolute inability of most of them and the actual refusal of all to satisfy the extortionate and continually increasing demands of the Hoppo for the purchase of the various articles of Clock Work and Mechanism imported in our Ships and usually denominated Sing Songs and which it seems are now become the established vehicle of Corruption between the Officer and his Superiors at the Capital. . . . We informed the Merchants in conclusion that to a measure so prejudicial to the Interests of the H'ble Company as this interruption to the lading of our Ships no differences which might exist between the Hoppo and the Merchants much less those of the disgraceful nature they had narrated would induce us to submit and that we should accordingly make a formal appeal on the subject to the Govt. unless the Trade was very shortly allowed again to proceed.

On the question now directly in dispute the Committee held that they must resist, since there was nothing to show that the offender was an Englishman, or if an Englishman that he was on a Company's ship, or that his name was actually William or Anthony or Paul; but in writing to the Court of Directors they thought it right

> to submit to the consideration of your H'ble Court some cases of probable occurrence in which the demand to deliver up an individual would be made by the Govt. and to request such definite Instructions as they may appear to require.
>
> 1st. In cases where a Chinese may be killed entirely accidentally as from a Gun unintentionally going off or otherwise.
>
> 2nd. In cases where a Chinese is killed by an European who is acting in self defence or against an Attack of Robbery or a Chinese being killed on entering either a Ship or house by night in order to steal.
>
> 3rd. Where a Chinese is killed by an European acting in the execution of his duty as Centinel Watchman or the like. A Case similar to this occurred in 1800 when Capt. Dilkes was in China.
>
> 4th. In cases of affray where from the numbers engaged it may be impossible to fix on the offender. Similar to this was the discussion in 1807 relative to the Seamen of the *Neptune*.
>
> 5th. In cases where there may be presumptive proof of Guilt but

such as would not be deemed sufficient to convict a man by the English law.

6th. In cases where wilful murder is clearly proved. In these indeed our orders already direct explicitly the immediate delivery up of the offender.

As the Committee pointed out, the recurrence of any one of these cases would lead to a demand for the delivery of the offender, and a refusal to comply would cause the detention of the ships then in port.

On February 2nd the Committee took the extreme measure of presenting a memorial at the City gates, addressed to the Governor and the Hoppo. The memorial was taken by Mr. Parry, the junior member of the Committee, and Captain the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, the senior commander (commodore) of the Company's fleet, and

in order to give the deputation a respectable appearance suited to the occasion it was accompanied by a party of Gentlemen of the Factory and of the Commanders and Officers of the Ships now in China.

The party was not obstructed at the city gate and proceeded to the Hoppo's yamen, where the memorial was received. In the evening the merchants brought it back, returned after perusal by the Governor and the Hoppo. On February 8th the Committee

gave notice to the principal Mandarins thro' the medium of the Merchants that however desirous we are at all times to pay due deference to the laws of China and the regulations of the Government, we cannot much longer submit to the present injurious detention of our Ships in justification of which we are assured not a single law or regulation of the Empire can be alleged and that we shall therefore take on ourselves to dispatch the fleet even without the usual permission should the Government by protracted delays absolutely reduce us to that unpleasant alternative.

On that same day in the evening they were assured that the Grand Chops would be issued forthwith ; and they were actually issued and the fleet with Mr. Roberts was dispatched on the morning of February 10th. The second fleet, with Mr. Browne on board, was dispatched without further incident on March 26th.

LXVII

PLEASANT RELATIONS WITH THE VICEROY, 1811

For the season 1811 the Select Committee consisted of Mr. John Fullarton Elphinstone (President), Mr. William Parry, and Mr. Thomas Charles Pattle. The last named was co-opted by his two colleagues on Mr. Browne's departure; but he remained at Macao through the whole season to receive the silver delivered there. The books were opened on March 21st with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury		261,174
Tea in stock, 28,559 piculs		664,346
Camlets unsold		273,577
Other imports unsold		2,603
Factory account		31,613
Loan on Factory building		54,280
Owing by Ponqua, bankrupt	210,000	
,, ,, Gnewqua ,,	412,601	
		622,601
,, ,, solvent merchants		893,686
		2,803,880
Dr. to owed to Chunqua		40,507
Credit Balance		2,763,373

During the season the Company loaded 19 ships of about 22,300 tons, including one of about 700 tons from New South Wales. Their import cargoes on Company's account realized: woollens (invoiced cost f.o.b. £894,482) Tls. 2,627,115, lead (£45,072) Tls. 101,553, tin (£2,484) Tls. 7,786, copper (£1,591) Tls. 2,839, iron bars (£3,490) Tls. 11,353, red lead (£400) Tls. 908, total English products Tls. 2,751,554; cotton Tls. 736,064, sandalwood Tls. 28,293, pepper Tls. 28,213, total Indian produce Tls. 792,570; total imports on Company's account Tls. 3,544,124.

The Company shipped to England 1,158,685 dollars. During the season there were received into the treasury 2,341,275 dollars

against bills on Bengal at 44 and 30 days, 301,772 dollars on certificates, 229,863 dollars under Indian engagements, 92,034 dollars a first instalment of one-tenth of the debts of the bankrupt merchants, and 152,033 paid in cash by the merchants, making a total of 3,116,977 dollars. This reduced the net receipt to 1,958,292 dollars = Tls. 1,409,970. The cost of the investment is not recorded. The comprador's account was abstracted as follows:

	Tls.
Charges Extraordinary	49,382
Charges on Merchandise	8,676
House Rent, Repairs & Furniture	11,308
Provision Account	17,929
	87,295

N.B.—The advances for building the new Factory & the Expenses of the men of War are included in the Charges Extraordinary.

The trade of the season was as follows:

		Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Silk piece-goods.*	*Nankeen.*
		No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company	19	139,440	256,361	763	56	295,200
	Country	25[1]	146,110	3,635	149	969	160,600
American		27[2]	9,442	26,778	..	1,490	178,600
		71	294,992	286,774	912	2,515	634,400

Of the American ships 13 are recorded as having brought 1,433,500 dollars in specie, and of the English country ships 2 brought 75,000 dollars. Of ginseng the Americans brought 1,555 piculs, the English none. Of sandalwood the Americans brought 4,130 piculs from Fiji; the English brought 3,521 piculs from Fiji and 4,067 piculs from India. The records of the fur importations are so confused as not to command respect, but they are given for what they are worth:

American: 330,315 sealskins, 69,166 other fine furs, 27,250 rabbit skins;

English: 1,400 sealskins, 5,690 rabbit skins.

In October the Committee made a most interesting shipment to T. S. Raffles, Esq., at Batavia in the island of Java, of 62

[1] Statistics of 23 ships only.
[2] Statistics of 22 ships for imports and 17 for exports.

pieces of satin and silks, invoiced at 2,925 dollars, consisting of crimson, yellow, light blue, pea-green, and white grounds with flowers of gold, of silver, or of gold and silver. The Committee had learned by an American ship that Batavia had, prior to August 20th, surrendered to the British forces under General Sir Samuel Auchmuty; under date of September 1st Lord Minto wrote from Batavia informing them that the conquest of Java was virtually accomplished; and on October 21st the government was established with Thomas Stamford Raffles as Lieut.-Governor and three members of Council.

At a consultation of November 29, 1810, a week before Mr. Browne's arrival, Mr. Roberts had laid before the Committee some observations on the conduct of Chunqua, and had proposed that they should indicate their feeling in the matter by a reduction in the share in the Company's business which had been given to him. Mr. Roberts further proposed that the shares should no longer be settled in public, but should be dealt with in secret session and should be confidential as between the Committee and each merchant. These proposals were all adopted, that relating to Chunqua's share before Mr. Browne's departure, and that imposing secrecy after Mr. Elphinstone had taken the presidency, but in conformity with a minute left by Mr. Browne. The shares in the sale of woollens (excepting camlets) and in the forward contracts for tea were distributed as follows:

	Woollens. 22nd Shares.	*Congo.* Chests.	*Souchong.* Chests.	*Twankay.* Chests.	*Hyson.* Chests.	*Hyson Skins.* Chests.
Mowqua	4	23,000	1,200	6,600	1,800	1,200
Puiqua	3	17,000	800	5,000	1,400	800
Conseequa	3	17,000	800	5,000	1,200	600
Chunqua	2	11,600	400	3,300	800	500
Exchin	2	11,500	400	3,300	800	500
Manhop	2	11,500	400	3,300	800	500
Poonequa	2	11,500	400	3,300	800	500
Goqua	2	11,500	400	3,300	800	500
Fatqua	1	5,700	200	1,600	300	200
Kinqua	1	5,700	200	1,600	300	200
	22	126,000	5,200	36,300	9,000	5,500

Chunqua had taken his chastisement hard and with much resentment. The two senior Hong Merchants pleaded for him

that he might not lose face by having his share reduced, but Mr. Elphinstone stood firm; whereupon Chunqua renounced all share in the Company's business. His tea was distributed in due proportion among the other merchants, their shares in the woollens being also raised to twentieth parts.

Mowqua and Puiqua were now definitely back in the Hong. Conseequa did not need help and could stand alone. The six junior members all needed help and had to be supported by advances and loans. To make these advances the Committee had counted on cash receipts from the sale of the camlets of the previous season, which had been placed in the hands of Goqua; he seems to have done his best and to have acted straight, but his returns were slow, and the Committee had recourse to the two seniors. From them were obtained the specie required to make the advances under the tea contracts, as also to provide the cash for Customs duties, to the amount of about half a million dollars, on which the recipient paid interest at the rate of 1 per cent. a month. In this way the junior merchants were carried through the season, but at its close the Committee expressed their apprehension for the future.

The experiment of appointing one Hong Merchant as sole selling agent for the camlets had not been quite a failure, 350,000 dollars having been received up to June 20th; but it had not been a complete success, and for the camlets of the current season the Committee adopted a different plan. They proposed to the two senior Hong Merchants that they should undertake the sole agency conjointly. Mowqua and Puiqua refused

from their apprehensions of the clamour which their thus appearing to monopolize the Trade might excite. They however made the following proposal to us in their turn to which we have acceded—namely that the sale of the Camlets should be conducted by them only, but subject to the proviso that the profits should be regularly distributed in due proportions among all the Merchants of the Conso.

Cash was to be paid before removal from the factory at the increased rates of Tls. 29 a piece for first quality, Tls. 26 for second, and Tls. 20·50 for third. At the close of the season the indent for the season 1813 went forward with the quantities and the proportions of colour per 100 pieces as follows:

	Broad-cloth.			*Long Ells.*			
	Superfine.	*Supers.*	*Worsters.*	*Ordinary.*	*Superior.*	*Camlets.*	*Worleys.*
	12,000.	*3,300.*	*1,700.*	*220,000.*	*12,600.*	*23,000.*	*4,000.*
Black	36	24	25	28	32	29	20
Reddish purple	20	20	20	21	25	22	30
Darker ,,	6	6	6	..	..	..	..
Scarlet	14	16	21	25	10	11	16
Light brown	3	5	3	..	..	8	2
Dark brown	4	5	4	2	3	2	1
Dark blue	4	10	8	..	..	..	..
Darkish blue	2	5	4	22	28	19	18
Light blue	6	6	8	..	..	(? 16)	3
Light ash	2	1	½	..	..	6	..
Ash	1	1	½	1	1	1	2
Green	1	1	..	½	½	1	2
Yellow	1	..	..	½	½	1	..
Gold color	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Crimson	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Pink	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The Committee attributed their ability to dispose of larger quantities of woollens at increased prices to their possession of their new factory, which allowed of their retaining the imports in their own custody for a longer period. They were even promised that in course of time they would have practically an island, surrounded to the front by the open quay, to the back by the Chinese street, to the west by Hog Lane (8 feet wide), and to the east by a narrow lane, and, so situated, their position would be more secure against fire and theft.

The remittances of specie to England continued, Mr. Pattle remaining at Macao in order to attend to them. So far there had been an advantage, sometimes as much as 3 per cent., in shipping sycee, the export of which from Chinese ports was prohibited.

It may be difficult to assign any satisfactory reason for this comparative cheapness of Sycee, which we believe has long been observable, unless it may be attributed to the superior confidence and security which almost every Currency must possess to a certain degree over uncoined Silver, and in proof that such a prejudice does exist to a remarkable extent in China, it may be worthy of remark that the new Dollars bearing the Image of Ferdinand VIIth but otherwise precisely similar to those of the former coinage, have been actually at a small discount among the Chinese, owing solely to the lesser notoriety of the Impression.

A hundred years later Spanish dollars with the imprint of Charles IV, deposed in 1808 and succeeded by Ferdinand VII, were found to command a premium of 40 per cent. for use in buying tea in Anhwei.[1]

But little sycee could, however, be obtained, and the greater part of the remittance consisted of dollar silver, partly broken or chopped dollars taken by weight, partly new dollars received directly or indirectly through the Company of the Philippines. Thus on November 20th Mr. Elphinstone

submitted to the Committee the wish of Mr. Mayo, the Spanish Chief, for the accommodation at the request of Senhor Manuel Pereira of Dollars 50,000 in Bills on the Government General, the amount of which he offers to pledge himself to repay by the end of February, upon the security of his own Bond, and of the deposit on the part of Mr. Pereira of 100 Chests of Patna Opium.

This was complied with, as much from a desire to gratify the Spanish Chief as with the object of replenishing the treasury. Mr. Pattle at this date informed the Committee that he had in hand nearly a million dollars in specie, and it was decided to ship that sum without delay; but

considerable Fees are generally paid both at Macao and at Canton to the Inferior Officers of Government when Treasure is shipped by private merchants and it is therefore perhaps natural to expect that these persons will throw impediments in the way, when they find that shipments are intended to be made by the Company without their receiving their usual perquisites.

The help of Captain Broughton of H.M.S. *Indefatigable* was enlisted, and Mr. Pattle was requested to use the frigate's boats to

embark the Treasure in a short space of time and without risk of interruption from the Chinese Boats of Macao, should they be disposed to offer any.

Soon after daylight on November 30th the whole of the specie was transferred to the *Indefatigable*:

the whole service was performed in a few hours, without exciting at all the notice of either Portuguese or Chinese. I have no doubt the same arrangement may be adopted in future with equal success, and with an entire saving of the premium which I understand has been this Season exacted at Canton, amounting to 2 p. ct. for private removal of Specie.

[1] *Trade and Administration of China*, third ed., p. 183.

The frigate then sailed for Chuenpi, where the specie was kept on board until the sailing of the first fleet on January 8, 1812. With the second fleet a different course was followed, a sum of 200,000 dollars being put on the Company's ships as they passed homeward bound through Macao Road on March 3rd.

We have seen that Sr. Mayo on behalf of Sr. Pereira tendered opium as security for the issue of bills in advance of the receipt of cash. In the previous July Sr. Januario d'Almeida had applied for bills for 50,000 dollars against cash, and

> at the same time take the liberty of proposing that you grant me a further sum of one hundred and fifty thousand Dollars in Bills on the Supreme Government for my Bond to that amount together with a deposit of such a number of Chests of Opium as you may judge an equivalent for your Security.

To this request Messrs. Elphinstone and Parry inclined to accede, holding that the advantage from bringing money into the treasury for remittance to England outweighed the disadvantages from the ' novel system of receiving Goods in pledge ', and that, in addition to obliging one of the principal merchants of Macao, they would

> at the same time contribute generally to the advantage of the Opium Trade of Macao, a trade in whose success connected as it is with an important branch of the Hon'ble Company's Revenue we cannot with propriety be wholly indifferent.

Mr. Pattle dissented and the facility was granted by a majority vote. With the Bengal opium of the Company Malwa and Persian opium was already in competition ; and now was added Turkey opium.[1]

> July 22. Arrived [at Macao] an American Brig [*Sylph*, Dobell, from Philadelphia] from Smyrna and said to be laden with a Cargo of Turkey Opium for the Chinese Market.

The facilities extended to the opium dealers strengthened their hands, so much so that, writing in January, the Committee record their opinion that

> the value of the Opium in the Calcutta sales will ever be regulated by the success of the speculators in this market, dependent in some degree on contingencies ; but principally on an available capital sufficient to defeat the combination of the Chinese dealers. The plan we adopted

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 72.

at the commencement of the season, by supplying, tho' to a limited extent, the funds required for this purpose, has been followed by the predicted rise in the price of Opium.

All this time, however, the Chinese had not lost sight of opium, and somewhere in the background was an idea that it was bad and that the trade in it ought to be suppressed. On June 26, 1811, the new Viceroy visited Macao and gave a gracious reception to the Committee, who went to present their respects.

The only communication from His Excellency that could be considered in any degree official related to the sale and introduction of Opium. He said he had received special orders from the Emperor to enforce the prohibitions against this contraband Trade, and expected that the Committee would co-operate with him in checking so great an evil, the origin of which was imputable to us, since the Opium imported was chiefly the produce of the British Colonies. . . . While we notice the above intimation of the Viceroy respecting Opium, it is proper to add that we are perfectly satisfied that it is merely made pro forma, and without the least intention of taking any effectual steps for the suppression of a Trade, which the Officers of the Government have so long and so notoriously found it to their interest to connive at.

This was from the newly arrived Viceroy; from the Künming Fu on August 3rd came a mandate ordering away to their own countries the Company's cruisers *Antelope* and *Maria*, which had been engaged in surveying the Chinese waters.

It is scarcely necessary to add that an order of this kind is invariably issued in one shape or other when any ship remains some time in these Roads, and that it is almost as invariably disregarded.

Mr. Kerr, His Majesty's Botanical Gardener, came out in 1803 and had remained in China and neighbouring countries since that date, collecting plants and sending them to the King's garden at Kew. The Court noted that those sent by the *Coutts* in the season 1809 had 'arrived in better order than any sent before'. In this season 1811 the Committee reported that he had left to take charge of Government gardens in Ceylon.

Four Italian priests were dismissed from their posts in Peking after thirty years' service as mathematicians and astronomers and ordered 'to repair as soon as possible to their own country'. On arrival at Canton the Governor commended them to the good offices of the Committee, who willingly entertained them in the factory, but they professed their inability to repatriate them,

'as the Italian States of which these missionaries are natives are not only at some distance from Great Britain, but actually in the possession of a power with whom we have been so long waging hostilities'. Ultimately the missionaries went to Manila in the hope of making their way back across the Pacific and the Atlantic.

The annual report of the Committee contains a reference to an instruction by the Court, dated August 29, 1810, which has an historical interest:

> The adventure of printed goods sent to India by Sir Robt. Peel & Co. having proved unfortunate, the Court allow them the accommodation of remitting the proceeds thro' the Canton Treasury . . . at 5*s*. 4*d*. p. dollar, & 365 days sight.

Advantage was taken of the permission in the following season, when a bill for £485 was granted.

Sir G. T. Staunton found himself compelled by ill health to apply for sick leave and left by the first fleet. His services as negotiator and interpreter had been of great value to the Committee, as they fully acknowledged in writing to the Court. As negotiator he could not be replaced, but his place as interpreter was taken by Mr. R. Morrison. He had been previously retained as translator and as teacher of Chinese to members of the factory at a salary of 2,000 dollars (£500) a year; and it was now thought right that he should receive in addition the annual fee of £500 paid to Sir G. T. Staunton.

> By Sir George Staunton's departure we are deprived of his very able assistance in the Chinese Department, and having in our late frequent intercourse with the Officers of this Government experienced the great advantage derived from being able to communicate at once, and without the intervention of the Chinese Linguists, who are incapable from every circumstance of interpreting our sentiments either fairly or fully; and as we are at the same time desirous of endeavouring to maintain the good understanding that for the present appears to exist between the Officers of this Government and ourselves, we are induced to offer the situation of Chinese Secretary to the Revd. Mr. Morrison being fully assured of his competence in every respect to discharge the duties of this station.

Mr. Morrison at the same time handed in the manuscript of a Chinese grammar which he had compiled, and which the Committee sent to the Governor-General to be printed at Calcutta.

One matter which might have involved the Committee with the officials passed off without a hitch. A previous dispatch of emigrants to St. Helena had been so successful that the Governor requested that 150 additional artisans and labourers be sent, and authorized such liberal terms that no difficulty was experienced in filling up the list and shipping them distributed among the fleet.

In September a letter from the Hong Merchants brought to the notice of the Committee the intention of the Hoppo to enforce the standing prohibition of going from Macao to Canton by the Outer Passage, as had become common of late.

It is here to be observed that the prohibition in question has long been practically abandoned in respect to Individuals proceeding without baggage, tho' the members of the European Factories still annually remove to and from Canton by the inner passage as formerly, and at a heavy and encreasing expense.

The merchants were urged to advise the Hoppo not to enforce so inconvenient a restriction.

The arrangement proposed for the two bankrupt estates of Gnewqua and Ponqua in the spring of 1810 (at the close of the season 1809) had been upset by the action of the authorities, and for it was substituted a repayment in ten annual instalments by the whole body of Hong Merchants and charged on the Consoo fund. Two years were thus lost, and the merchants in general were in a state bordering on bankruptcy; but finally, on February 26, 1812, the question was taken as settled and the amount of the debt was recorded as follows:

	Hon'ble Company.	*Private Creditors.*	*Total.*
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Gnewqua's debt . .	551,101	743,274	1,294,375
Ponqua's ,, . .	369,242	348,992	718,234
	920,343	1,092,266	2,012,609

Over all arrangements that the officials might propose or the Committee accept hung the shadow of extortion. When Chunqua came to protest against the intention to reduce his share in the Company's business,

he detailed the many and unceasing attempts of the Mandarines at extortion and oppression, remarking at the same time on the advanced

age of Mowqua and his inability, which with the timidity of Puiqua rendered them wholly unfit and incapable of resisting the attempts of the Mandarines.

At a later date, on October 19th, the Committee record—

As to the Viceroy's demand upon the Hong Merchants to bind themselves to the payment of the whole or the greatest part of the Million of Tales required by the Emperor; however we may deprecate and lament such an oppressive exaction, and however we may fear that the burden of it will ultimately fix itself on our Trade, we must say we see no method whatever of prevention or effectual interference on our part, in the event of the Merchants themselves being so weak and pusillanimous as to submit to it. The difficulty of interfering with any effect for the relief of the Hong Merchants from extortions to which they themselves submit with apparent willingness, and which have no immediate or ostensible effect upon ourselves, was particularly remarked to the Secret and Superintending Committee by the late Lord Macartney, in his correspondence, when at Canton: and has been experienced in fact in every instance of the kind, upon which we have taken occasion to remonstrate: But the difficulty becomes infinitely greater and absolutely insuperable, we think, by any exertion on our parts, when the exaction of the Officers of the provincial Government is not clandestine and unlawful transaction, the exposure of which they might shrink from: But an avowed demand, sanctioned by an Imperial Decree, and one, the peaceable and successful levy of which, can reflect nothing but credit and honor upon the Mandarins concerned in it.

With much of the extortion the Committee could not cope, but occasionally it was practised more clumsily and in such a way as to come within their reach. In February two of the senior commanders complained to the Committee that the Punyü Hien, charged with the civil jurisdiction at Whampoa, had

threatened to imprison and punish all the Compradores attached to the Ships, unless they consented to an extortion of 3,000 dollars, as the price of his forbearance, in waiving all further notice of the circumstance of some Chinese being apprehended by the Government Boats in the act of going on board one of the H'ble Company's Ships lately sailed, where it had been their intention to remain as sailors, and to which they declared on discovery that they had been persuaded by the Compradores.

Mowqua, on being consulted, advised a verbal protest, the written note being reserved until after a first failure of redress. An order was at once sent to stop the persecution of the ships through their compradors. A month later the Committee were straining every nerve to expedite the departure of two belated

ships, and found themselves hampered by a deficiency of boats. They wrote complaining of the delay, when

> Mowqua sent to inform us that permission is given for 12 Boats to be sent daily to the Ships; but that the Hoppo considered the reception of our letter unnecessary. We believe the truth of this transaction will be found in his Excellency's being alike ignorant of the prohibitions and regulations, or of our address having ever been presented at his office: But that the inferior attendants, aware of its contents, preferred granting our demand, to bringing the affair before their Superior.

At a consultation held at the very outset of the season, on April 16, 1811, the Committee record their opinion as follows:

> These Orders or Prohibitions appear mostly to have been published in the more early intercourse which European Nations had with Canton, and at a time when the Commercial Intercourse was neither so extensive or so regular as it is at present. They originated generally in Canton, partly with the Officers of the Canton Government, and a part probably at the instigation of the Merchants. Specious representations were made to Peking and under the pretence of securing a strict observance of the Laws and the preventing irregularities and confusion, the Imperial sanction was obtained—but they seem in fact to be framed for the purpose of aiding the extortion of the Canton Officers of Government, rather than any due regulation of the Trade. Many of these orders or prohibitions are obsolete or more probably were never enforced—for any serious attempt to that purpose, would amount nearly, if not entirely, to a prohibition of all Commercial Intercourse, and to the present extent and circumstances of the Trade they are quite unfit and unsuitable. From never having been officially rescinded they still appear to exist, and they afford a pretext for the Officers of Government to interfere, and to threaten their being carried into execution—and the question commonly terminates in the payment of a pecuniary compensation for the Officers forbearance. . . . The extent to which exactions or oppression will be carried, must chiefly depend on the character and conduct of the Superior Officers of the Provincial Government.

During the whole of the season 1810 the Presidents—at first Mr. Roberts, and afterwards Mr. Browne—had to contend with a spirit of hostility in the officials; but with the change in the person of the Viceroy came a change—or so it seemed—in the policy of the authorities.

On April 16, 1811, three days before the Committee finished settling their tea contracts, five days before the factory migrated to Macao, the new Viceroy arrived. Mowqua was requested to present a written address of welcome from the Committee, but

mindful of the reception given to other addresses, he declined, declaring that an address of congratulation from Europeans on such occasions was neither necessary nor customary. The factory was then moved to Macao, and a fortnight later Mr. Elphinstone heard from Mr. Robarts, who had remained behind, that he had ascertained that the new Viceroy was in truth the Sung Ta-jen who had escorted Lord Macartney on his inland journey from Peking; and that, on his receiving a certain petition from the private creditors of Fonqua, he had inquired who had written it,

> and upon Sir George Staunton's name having been mentioned to him had expressed himself surprised and much pleased that a person whom he well recollected with his Father in the British Embassy, happened to be at this time in China, that he was rather disappointed however that neither Sir George nor any of the English Residents had made him any congratulations either personally or by Letter, upon his arrival, altho' he had always shewn himself, and still continued to be very much the friend of their Nation.

The Committee at once sent a written address explaining the reasons for their apparent neglect of courtesy, and offering a visit to Canton by Sir G. Staunton, and also by one of the Committee should the Viceroy desire it. The Viceroy did desire it, but would not say so, and Sir G. Staunton went alone. On his arrival he sent a message that he wished to call—

> that as a private Individual I had to express to His Excellency my acknowledgements for his obliging recollections of me; and that, as the Representative of the Select Committee, I had to convey to him their congratulations on his accession to the Government.

Mowqua, as senior merchant, now made no demur, and the Viceroy appeared eager to see the boy of twenty years earlier; and an interview took place on the same day. His reception was most courteous—a subordinate Chinese official could not have been better treated.

> The Viceroy was sitting with the Hoppo at the upper end of the appartment, and a third seat was placed for me at some little distance on his right hand, with a small table near it, for the purpose of serving Tea and Sweetmeats. Several of the inferior Mandarines were present and stood during the whole conversation.

Sir G. Staunton took, of course, the opportunity of presenting

letters and addresses which had been written for the Viceroy's predecessor but not delivered,

and lastly, a paper in which I represented some of the principal facts connected with the present state of Foreigners in general in China, the embarrassing circumstances of most of the Hong Merchants, and the unhappy and unmerited fate of Assing.

The Viceroy read the documents, the other papers cursorily, the last with more care, and said that he was ready to give favourable answers on all points except on the third in the last paper; that Assing's case was serious and was already and finally settled; but that, if that reference was omitted, he was willing to receive all the papers. On leaving, Sir G. Staunton was presented with the Viceroy's fan—an indication of high personal regard—and was invited to dinner on the Saturday following, the 25th. On that day he went, accompanied by Mr. Robarts, and found that, besides the Viceroy, there were present the Tsiangkün (Tartar-General), the Fuyuen (Governor), and the Hoppo. At this interview the Viceroy was less genial and more formal, which was only to be expected in the presence of his colleagues and jealous critics.

He said that it was his intention to govern according to the established Laws and ancient Customs and that we ought to be satisfied therewith without seeking for any deviation or novelty: in all matters of Trade he should particularly refer us to the Hoppo, as they were under his more immediate jurisdiction.

He further now declined to receive the personal address, amended in the sense indicated by the omission of the reference to Assing; but before leaving

I took occasion to present a copy of the History in Chinese of the Vaccine Inoculation, which was very well received; and on our finally retiring presents of Silks and Canisters of Tea were delivered in the names of the Viceroy and Fouyuen to Mr. Robarts and myself.

This was at the end of the dinner, but before that there was an episode of a different character.

At the end of the first conversation the Viceroy said 'As I have a great regard for you, you must allow me to shew you our Chinese customs, one of them is to bend the knee to great Mandarines, pray let me see you perform that ceremony'. Though not a little surprised at such an address, I at first simply answered that I had the greatest

respect for His Excellency, but was obliged to decline paying him the compliment he required, as our English customs forbad it.

There was then an acrimonious discussion in tones of politeness, the Viceroy beginning with threatening the loss of his friendship and ending with threats of the entire loss of the trade; but to all representations from him or from the Hoppo, Sir G. Staunton persisted in maintaining an attitude of firm negation.

A few days later, on May 31st, the new Hoppo arrived and took over the seals of his office, and on June 1st Sir G. Staunton sent a message to the Viceroy announcing his impending departure from Canton, and explaining that his refusal to bend the knee arose, not from any intention of showing disrespect to His Excellency, but solely from the national custom that such a mark of reverence was reserved for the King or the potentates of other countries. The Viceroy at once appointed an hour for an interview, at which he was very gracious, making the *amende* in the handsomest manner. From that interview Sir G. Staunton went to call on the new Hoppo, by whom also he was well received, where also he was given a seat, the Hoppo even rising in his place to receive him. Truly, a changed attitude!

The factory was moved to Canton on October 19th, and on the 21st Mr. Elphinstone was received by the Viceroy, accompanied by Mr. Parry and Sir G. Staunton, and by Captain Briggs and Captain Broughton in command of convoying ships. The conversation was most amicable, as evidenced by the following excerpt:

> Speaking of the Comet now visible, he said he felt none of the apprehensions which some people entertained on the subject; it portended, he thought, nothing of any consequence, and at all events was rapidly departing. In this doctrine he was happy to hear, the Astronomers of Europe fully coincided.

But when Mr. Elphinstone, adverting to the great powers wielded by the Viceroy, put in a plea for Assing, he was told abruptly that 'the Laws must now take their course'.

Two weeks later the Viceroy went down to Whampoa, where he was received by the Committee and entertained on one of the ships. A month later, on December 6th, he again received the Committee and was most gracious to them, on the occasion of his departure to take up the duties of a high office to which

he was called in Peking; and when he actually left, he was escorted for some distance up river by the boats from the ships fully manned and carrying their commanders and many members of the factory. Even after the Viceroy's departure, the same happy relations were kept up by the Governor, who administered the office. On January 8th he granted an interview to a party including Mr. Elphinstone, who wished to pay his respects, and Sir G. Staunton on his approaching departure.

The effects of this happy state were constantly in evidence. On November 23rd, before the Viceroy's departure, Captain Thomas Briggs of H.M.S. *Clorinde* complained that an officer and a sailor of his ship had been assaulted while on shore at Chuenpi; within a week the Kwangchow Fu had arrested the offenders and secured the return of property taken. In the March following an attempt by Customs officers to squeeze a country ship at Whampoa was nipped in the bud when reported by the President to the Hoppo.

It was while this feeling was at its height that the Court's instructions regarding the unknown murderer of January, 1810, were received. The Court found fault with the Committee for allowing an indeterminate decision to be made—

> The enquiry should not have been given up until the fullest conviction was obtained that the discovery of the offender was impossible. This necessary because the offender, by the Laws of England, could not be put on his trials, and has therefore, if guilty of murder, escaped the punishment due to his crime. The Business not having been properly investigated, cannot approve of a day having been appointed for the dispatch, with or without the permission of the Government.

In reply the Committee refer to their report of January 31, 1811, in which they endeavoured to explain

> the very material fact, that, whenever a murderer is demanded by the Chinese Government, our consequent selection and surrender of any individual into their hands is completely equivalent in effect to a provisional sentence of death. The individual may be afterwards pardoned or not according to circumstances, but we think there can be no question that our act in such cases is held by the Chinese Government as perfectly conclusive both in respect to the law and the fact; or in other words as competent evidence both of the identity of the Offender, and of his offence having amounted to Murder. . . . We are expressly instructed that it would not be proper to deliver up an individual, who

had killed a Chinese into the hands of the Government, unless such individual had actually committed murder.

The Court had sent out a long letter embodying an argument on their legal position in the matter; and, in the changed circumstances, the Committee considered that it was addressed to the previous Viceroy and did not deliver it.

At his first interview with the Viceroy, Sir G. Staunton made reference to the lapse of time since Lord Macartney's Embassy, and expressed an opinion that it was time for another. The Viceroy at once protested—

Oh, no. There is no occasion for you to send another Embassy to Pekin. The Emperor knows it is a long way, and does not wish you to trouble yourselves. Besides the Climate does not agree with you; you may catch infectious Distempers. No! Your Nation must not send an Embassy. I will not allow it. It is out of the Question and you must not think of it.

LXVIII

BLACKMAIL LEVIED BY SUBORDINATE OFFICERS, 1812

For the season 1812 the Select Committee was composed of Mr. J. F. Elphinstone (President) and Messrs. J. W. Roberts, T. C. Pattle, and W. Parry; but Mr. Roberts did not return to China until September 12th, and Mr. Pattle remained at Macao until nearly the end of the season.

The books were opened on April 4, 1812, with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury		223,380
Bonds receivable		193,183
Tea in stock, 32,234 piculs		678,421
Factory account		36,000
Loan on new factory		54,280
Unsold camlets and other imports		225,215
Owed by bankrupt merchants	530,738	
„ „ solvent „	467,538	
		998,276
		2,408,755
Dr. to Owed to Puiqua	359,087	
„ „ other merchants	32,214	
		391,301
Credit Balance		2,017,454

During the season the Company received 23 ships of about 25,800 tons; of which 2 (about 2,200 tons) from Bengal returned there, and 21 of about 23,600 tons were loaded for London, 2 coming in ballast from New South Wales. Their import cargoes realized: woollens (invoiced cost f.o.b. £917,035) Tls. 2,521,470, lead (£40,344) Tls. 90,695, tin (£29,891) Tls. 87,699, iron (£7,175) Tls. 22,242, printed cottons (£4,774) Tls. 10,800, total English products Tls. 2,732,906; Indian produce, cotton (invoiced c.i.f. at 683,170 current rupees, plus 1,573,819 Bombay rupees, plus 42,223 pagodas) Tls. 1,161,046, sandalwood (c.i.f. 35,044 pagodas) Tls. 43,734, pepper (80,246 dollars) Tls. 27,786,

total Indian produce Tls. 1,232,566; total for all imports on Company's account Tls. 3,965,472.

The treasury, apart from the sale of imports, received in specie 45,000 dollars for a bond under Indian engagement; against bills on London at 365 days' sight, 4,720 dollars at 5*s.* 4½*d.* and 328,504 dollars at 5*s.* 3*d.*; against bills on Bengal at 30 days' sight, 366,000 dollars at 44 dollars per 100 current rupees, 716,000 dollars at 43 dollars, 920,234 dollars at 42 and 172,533 dollars at 41, a total on Bengal of 2,174,767 dollars; on Madras at 30 days and 16 dollars = 10 star pagodas, 19,300 dollars; on certificates 280,769 dollars; a total receipt of 2,853,060 dollars = Tls. 2,054,203. It was not found possible to send any specie to England, the funds being used to reduce the indebtedness of the Chinese merchants.

Of the bills on Bengal 692,647 dollars were granted by Mr. Pattle, who remained at Macao through the season. Transfers in the treasury were granted in favour of Chinese merchants, of bills on London 240,998 dollars, on Bengal 1,070,834 dollars, and of certificates 205,881 dollars, a total of 1,517,713 dollars. The investment by the 21 ships loaded for London was invoiced at Tls. 6,425,608. The comprador's account was abstracted as follows:

	Tls.
House Expences	18,592
House Rent, Repairs & Furniture	10,109
Charges Extraordinary	41,708
Charges on Merchandise	13,413
	83,822

The trade of the port during the season was as follows:

		Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Woven Silk.*	*Nankeens.*
		No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company	23	144,881	274,175	1,257	22	196,400
	Country	13	95,130	972	705	72	115,000
American [1]		17	268	10,556	..	266	107,000
		53	240,279	285,703	1,962	360	418,400

Of the American ships three are recorded as having brought 321,000 dollars in specie, of the country ships one brought 50,000 dollars, and of the Company's ships two brought 65,000 dollars,

[1] Statistics of imports given for 10 ships, of exports for 7 ships.

but not on Company's account. Of raw silk by the Company's ships all was Nanking silk except 60 piculs; and by country ships 684 piculs were of Canton production. The quantities given above are those reported by the linguists and include the private trade; the shipments on the Company's own account were, tea 211,737 piculs, raw silk 1,100 piculs.

Of sandalwood 5,559 piculs were brought in British vessels from India, 7,350 piculs in American vessels from the islands of the Pacific. No ginseng was imported this season. By British ships were imported 1,372 sealskins, 13,500 other fine furs, and 84,300 rabbit skins; by American ships 33,205 sealskins and 9,023 other fine furs.

The census of non-British and non-Portuguese foreign residents in China on April 9, 1812, was as follows:

Spanish: 3 supercargoes.
Dutch: 5 ,,
Prussian: Mr. Beale, Consul.
Mr. H. Magniac, Vice-Consul.
American: Mr. I. P. Cushing, Consul.
Mr. J. W. Wilcocks, Mr. Bull, Mr. Blight, Mr. Chas. Blight, Mr. McGee, Mr. Snow, merchants.

Except under the protection of the Prussian flag, there were now no 'private English' permanently residing in China. In the factory, in the service of the English Company there was in the month of April, 1812, the following staff, with the duties assigned by the Committee as recorded in the Consultations, and an estimate of the amount coming to each from the commission, which was now at 2 per cent. on the sales amount, the division being 'estimated on an average, clear of all deductions'.[1]

Select Committee:

	Annual Share. £
John Fullarton Elphinstone, President	8,550
John William Roberts, Second Member	7,124
Thomas Charles Pattle, Third Member	7,124
To superintend the collection of Specie at Macao and grant Bills on the Bengal Government.	
William Parry, Fourth Member	7,124
To superintend the Company's Imports.	

[1] Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, vol. ii, p. 474.

Supercargoes below the Committee :	£
William Bramston, to take charge of the Treasury account .	5,936
Joseph Cotton, Jr., to copy a Consultation and assist in weighing Teas	5,343
Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart., on leave [1] . . .	4,629
Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, Bart., to superintend the Company's Exports	4,036
James Brabazon Urmston, to weigh Teas	2,134
James Molony, to keep the general Books	1,916
James Thomas Robarts, to copy the general Books and weigh Teas	1,542
William Fraser, to conduct the business of the Office and to write a Diary	1,542
Writers above Seven years in Service :	
Francis Hastings Toone, Secretary	1,200
William Bosanquet, to write a Consultation Book, weigh Teas, and audit the Comprador's accounts	1,200
William H. C. Plowden, on leave	1,200
Writers above Five years in Service :	
William Baynes, on leave	800
Junior Writers :	
Charles Millet, to copy a Consultation Book and weigh Teas.	100
Frederick Irwin Hudlestone, to copy a Diary, assist in the Office, and weigh Teas	100
Supernumeraries :	
Samuel Ball, Inspector of Teas	2,000
John Reeves, Asst. Inspr. of Teas	700
Alexander Pearson, Surgeon	1,200
John Livingstone, Asst. Surgeon	1,000
Rev. Robert Morrison, Translator and Teacher of Chinese .	500
Total, Commissions & Salaries . . .	67,000
Comprador's account of Factory Charges, Tls. 83,822 . .	27,941
Total Cost of Establishment	94,941

The Committee now finds it necessary to keep records of marriages and births, as well as of deaths. Mr. Roberts, returning on September 12th, brought his bride with him to Macao ; and on January 3, 1813, she was delivered of a son.

On May 10, 1812, it is recorded that

[1] Received in addition £500 a year as Chinese Secretary ; during his absence this was added to Mr. Morrison's salary as teacher.

Yesterday morning were married by the President, Boyd Lawson and Elizabeth Faithman, the former Steward to the Factory and the latter a servant in the employ of Mrs. Cotton.

On July 19th it is recorded that

Mary Rebecca Morrison, daughter of Robert and Mary Morrison was born at Macao in China on Monday the 29th June 1812 and baptized the 19th of July following by her father the Rev'd Robt. Morrison.

On September 26th it is recorded that

The infant son of Mr. Urmston born on the 18th Inst., was baptized this morning by the President and named George Brabazon, also the infant Daughter of Lieut. Daniel Ross of the Bombay Marine, by the name of Maria.

Mr. Roberts was placed second on the Committee on his return, but was to succeed as President in case of the death or absence of Mr. Elphinstone. He returned too late to have his name included in the permit for the migration at the end of September, and, before the necessary Chop was sent to him, the Committee learned on October 11th that

a considerable degree of indisposition renders it in Mr. Livingstone's opinion very desirable that Mr. Roberts should not expose himself to the climate of Canton until his health be re-established.

He arrived at Canton and took the oath of fidelity on November 27th; but on January 2, 1813, he applied for leave to return to Macao for reasons of health; and on February 16th it was decided that Mr. Pattle should come to Canton, because it was learned that Mr. Roberts 'continued extremely indisposed'.

Mr. Morrison, besides his duties as interpreter, continued to act as teacher to those of the staff who wished to study Chinese during the sojourn at Macao, among his pupils at this time being Messrs. Toone, Bosanquet, and Millet, and the surgeon, Mr. Pearson. On November 9, 1812, he wrote to Mr. Elphinstone, referring to the grammar which had been sent to Calcutta to be printed and to a book of dialogues to serve as lesson book, and proposed to prepare a dictionary in three parts:

I. Chinese and English arranged alphabetically.
II. Chinese and English arranged according to Keys and containing about 40,000 words.
III. English and Chinese.

He had collected material so abundant that he could keep the compositors going with copy; and he asked that the Company should send out a press and two printers to Macao, and should undertake the publication at its cost.

The United States of America declared war on England on June 18, 1812. On December 17th the Committee record that

> the Non Arrival of American Ships this Season has occasioned a fall in the price of the [Nankeen or Canton] cloth they usually invest.

Of the 17 American ships included in the English Company's season, 6 which had arrived between February and September all sailed during November; 8 arrived in February, 1813, and it was by one of these (the *Ann* from Baltimore arriving on the 5th) that the news of the outbreak of this war first reached the ears of the Committee. As will have been seen, the carriage of tea to neutral ports had been seriously curtailed by Berlin Decrees, by Orders in Council, and by embargoes and non-intercourse Acts; and the actual coming of war now drove the weaker power from the Eastern seas, as it had already driven the Dutch and the French. Among other results it checked, and delayed for some years, the use of credits by the Americans in substitution for the importation of specie.

> In the Season 1810–11 the American Traders first brought Drafts to any considerable amount to Canton on Mercantile Houses in London, with the Proceeds of which they had to provide their returning Cargoes. If the Americans were annually provided with an extensive Credit on Houses of respectability in England, we are not aware of any Circumstance to deter the Indian Capitalist from remitting the proceeds of his Speculations in the China Market by means of the Bills which might be purchased in Canton in preference to returning his Property to Calcutta and from thence transmitting it thro' the Company's Treasury to England especially under the limitations [by] which the Opening the Bengal Treasury for remittance to Europe is regulated.

Another promising opening for American enterprise which was checked by the war was the trade in Turkey opium. On October 6th it was noted that the American ship *President Adams* from Boston had been wrecked on the coast of St. John's Island, to the westward of Macao, having on board 170,000 dollars in specie and 'a quantity of Turkish Opium'.

At a consultation on October 19th the Committee considered the amount of the proceeds of opium and cotton imported and remaining to be returned to India.

From the result it appears that about 1,200 Chests of Opium are unsold, of which 1,000 Chests may be disposed of before the month of April.

From this it may be deduced that the sale of Bengal opium in twelve months might amount to 2,000 chests; and it may be further deduced that, at this date, Indian opium contributed one million and Indian cotton three and a third million taels to the funds available to adjust trade balances. For remitting to India the traders had still, so far as then known, the bills of Americans available; and

We have likewise ascertained that Bills drawn in London on respectable Commercial Houses at Calcutta have been brought to Macao on a vessel from Lisbon,

which must enter into competition with the Committee's bills on the Bengal treasury. The Committee, therefore, took the bold step of lowering their rates on Bengal, which had been 44 dollars per 100 current rupees: they now offered 30-day bills at the rate of:

41 for cash;

42 for bonds payable without interest in 3 months, with deposit of opium at Macao as collateral;

43 for ditto in 6 months, ditto.

Even with these rates they were this season unable to find money to send to London, but they were able by transfers to reduce the indebtedness to the Chinese merchants, transfers in the treasury being sanctioned as follows:

		Dollars.
in favour of	Mowqua	629,084
	Puiqua	722,812
	Other merchants	151,194
	Gnewqua's & Ponqua's estates	110,833
		1,613,923

The experimental consignment of printed cottons, invoiced at £4,774, was not approved of—the designs were not adapted to the market, and the quality was not worthy of the Company.

The prices paid for contract teas during the season were as follows :

Bohea, Tls. 14 a picul.
Congou packed as Bohea, Tls. 15 @ 16 a picul

Congou :	47,831	chests at Tls.	26	,,				
	53,500	,, ,,	27	,,				
	117,712	,, ,,	29	,,				
Souchong :	1,706	chests at Tls.	42 @ 46	a picul.				
	210	,, ,,	44	,,				
	5,042	,, ,,	32	,,				
	2,944	,, ,,	34	,,				
	1,900	,, ,,	36	,,				
Twankay :	15,411	,, ,,	28	,,				
	4,915	,, ,,	29	,,				
	518	,, ,,	30	,,				
	2,898	,, ,,	24	,,				
	7,481	,, ,,	26	,,				
	14,657	,, ,,	27	,,				
Hyson :	422	chests at Tls.	38		1,454	chests at Tls.	52	
	103	,, ,,	40		956	,, ,,	54	
	100	,, ,,	42		948	,, ,,	57	
	1,017	,, ,,	43		404	,, ,,	59	
	984	,, ,,	45		100	,, ,,	62	
	1,511	,, ,,	48		100	,, ,,	65	
Hyson Skins :	625	chests at Tls.	24		364	chests at Tls.	30	
	1,589	,, ,,	25		298	,, ,,	31	
	1,811	,, ,,	26		618	,, ,,	32	
	837	,, ,,	27		234	,, ,,	33	
	708	,, ,,	28		281	,, ,,	34	

Silk was this year contracted for at Tls. 330–50 for Nanking Tsatlee silk, and Tls. 230–50 a picul for Canton silk. The Court complained that they could not understand the conditions of the markets for Nankeens—

> The Company purchase these Goods at the first hand frequently paying in advance and the result of the Sales is unsatisfactory which the Comm'rs & Officers who buy at the Market price import largely and sell at a profit, the Americans buy a very large quantity of Nankeens for which they pay in Silver and sell openly in the southern parts of Europe and illicitly in the West Indies undoubtedly at a profit or they would discontinue the Trade.

The Committee pointed out that the ships' officers bought by

selection in small lots and of finer quality than the Company, while

it is to be observed that the American Trade fluctuates in different seasons from very extensive purchases to almost a total suspension of the demand as has occurred in the two last years. We understand the preceding importations from China on a very large scale had so completely overstocked the American market as to reduce the sale price to nearly half the Invoice Cost.

In connexion with the private trade it is interesting to note that each commander or owner of a chartered ship was allowed to ship four pipes of wine back from Canton to London.

The Court began to sniff an increasing degree of barter in the Committee's transactions, and 'cannot avoid repeating our Reprobation of all transactions of Barter'. The Committee defended itself by pointing out that, with the exception of Long Ells, every article of its import had in fact been sold for cash, because they had feared to trust the merchants in their embarrassed state; and further that

where the commercial Transactions are confined as in China to a few individuals and where their trade consists in receiving one kind of Goods and delivering another in return it will be evident that considerable difficulty must be found in avoiding altogether the system of barter for altho' it is necessary to fix on either side the value of the Articles in money, that value must in great measure depend in what is to be received in return. . . . If the Hong Merchants are in affluent Circumstances and their Credit so fully established as to leave no doubt of the delivery of their Teas, we conceive that the system of Barter might be introduced with mutual advantage to the Company and the Merchants, that Cotton and other Articles might as well as Woollens be exchanged for Teas or such Goods as might be required.

The Committee declared that the Court might perhaps gain some apparent advantage by shipping silver instead of woollens to Canton, but in the long run they would lose, since

the difference between the Money and the Long Ells price dependent in a great measure on the fluctuating demand for the Long Ells is actually determined and acted upon by the Merchants.

During this season only two of the Hong Merchants, Mowqua and Howqua (Puiqua), were in a strong position, and of those two Mowqua died on December 20th, a serious loss to the Committee and to his colleagues. During the previous season, on

February 10, 1812, the question of giving support to the junior hongs had been considered and decided in the affirmative; and on July 17th Goqua, Exchin, and Poonequa appeared at Macao to urge the same necessity for themselves and the others. At both dates it appeared to the Committee that

> greater inconvenience and detriment to the Company's affairs as well as to the claims of Individuals were likely to result from the failure of so many Hongs at one time than if those Hongs were continued in Business, and the Committee had consequently resolved not to take any measures on the Company's account which might occasion their Bankruptcy but to continue to transact Business with them and to afford such aid as might be absolutely required to enable the Hongs to surmount their difficulties. As the payment of the Government Duties is indispensably necessary it follows that the Merchants must be supplied with the means of supplying them.

They had also a hope that, by thus furnishing the means of paying the duties, they might at the same time encourage the merchants to resist the payment of those extra demands of the officials which crippled them and ultimately were felt to be a burden on the foreign trade. From time to time they, therefore, provided the sums in cash required for duties on the woollens or the cotton imported, or on the tea or the silk exported; and by this means the relations of the merchants with the Company were kept on a sound footing, and at the close of the season many of them were in a position to receive money. At the close of January, 1813, Conseequa, Exchin, Manhop, Poonequa, and Goqua were compelled to appeal to their private creditors, who, rather than make them bankrupt, agreed to follow the Committee's plan, and for that purpose placed their interests in the hands of three trustees: Mr. Molony, a junior supercargo of the Company; Mr. Pearson, surgeon to the factory; and Mr. Magniac, private.

The Chinese officials at Macao created some small difficulties. On the arrival of the factory on April 11, 1812, the people at the Hoppo House demanded an addition to the customary fee for each boat; and when the Committee resisted,

> the Hoppo's Officers made no objection to the unlading the boats being commenced immediately after their arrival, but endeavoured to carry their point, by minutely examining every package as it was landed, which from the quantity of Baggage and Stores which necessarily

accompany the Factory, would be productive of much delay and inconvenience.

The discharging of the boats was then stopped, and a letter was written to the Hong Merchants, who then obtained from the Hoppo an order to his subordinates at Macao to cease their annoyance. When the factory migrated, it was always by the Inner Passage and in Chinese boats, and fees were levied from point to point on the way:

the increasing expenses attending a passage in a Chop Boat at present exceed 400 Dollars of which the principal part is discharged in fees at the several Chop Houses.

When individual members of the factory went to Canton or to Macao, or when Americans went, they frequently took passage in a foreign ship, and seldom subjected themselves to the long delay of twelve to fourteen days, or to the expense attending an application for permission. The officers on the way who were thus deprived of their fees complained to the Hoppo, and obtained from him in July the issue of a mandate ordering all, without exception, to take the Inner Passage. Against the arguments adduced, that the Outside Passage was taken for the purpose of smuggling, the Committee wrote protesting strongly. In August the Künming Fu, who was responsible for providing pilots and compradors, took advantage of orders enjoining in general terms the exercise of vigilance in suppressing smuggling, and organized the compradors into a close corporation, to secure admission to which each was to pay a fee of 500 dollars for permission to act as comprador to a Company's ship and 250 dollars to an American or a country ship. The compradors did not seem to value the protection thus given to them, and applied to the Committee for help. The arrival of five ships from London via Bombay forced the issue, and the Künming Fu was informed that the ships would not enter the river until they were provided each with a comprador. Pilots assigned to them were sent away, and, 'being in possession of Lieut. Ross's Chart of the River between Macao and Chuen Pee', they made their way unpiloted to Chuenpi and lay there outside the Bogue. The Hoppo took the matter up and spoke strongly to the Viceroy, who sent orders to the Künming Fu to release the compradors

whom he had arrested and imprisoned; but the ships were at Chuenpi for three weeks before the Künming Fu acquiesced and obeyed the orders of his superiors. The attitude of the superior officials was in general friendly and conciliatory.

Oct. 6. Mr. Parry accompanied by Mr. Morrison proceeded to Whampoa to receive H.E. the Hoppo on his Visit to the H.C. Ships the mild and conciliatory manners of this man is so widely different from that of his predecessor that he merits every mark of attention and respect from us that we may find it in our power to bestow.

Two weeks later the Tsiangkün (Tartar-General), on the eve of his retirement from his post, paid the factory the signal honour of making a personal visit to the President, who received him with many of the supercargoes and the commanders of the ships.

This increase in friendliness was not, however, allowed to interfere with the serious occupations of life, and the Hoppo's subordinates assured to the Hoppo and to themselves their proper dues. On November 8th Poonequa informed the Committee that, after some delay, he had obtained permission to ship off teas, but that it was still withheld from Conseequa, Exchin, and Goqua; but on the 13th we have all four informing the Committee that they had not yet received their permits. A letter of complaint was thereupon sent to the Hoppo, which in a short space of time Puiqua and his colleagues brought back, and which 'they said H.E. was prevented receiving by a serious illness'. As this seemed to indicate that the subordinate officers were playing their own game, the Committee then decided to suspend all shipments. The letter of complaint was sent in again and was again rejected under the plea of indisposition, on the 16th, on the 20th, and after this the embargo was raised. In less than three weeks, on December 9th,

Objections have again been made at the Hoppo's Office to Conseequa's shipping off Teas. Any delay at the present moment will be productive of inconvenience. The Linguist was despatched to ascertain if it was the intention of the Hoppo to persevere in the detention of the Teas. Conseequa requested that we would not take any steps immediately to draw the attention of the Govt. and assured us that the affair would be accommodated in two Days.

This would seem to indicate that the trouble arose over some

fees demanded by some subordinate, since two days later we have the entry—

The detention of Conseequa's Chops has we are at length informed ceased, but it is reported that Merchant found it necessary to comply with the Hoppo's demands by giving a written promise to pay a sum of Money some time hence.

Three days later Exchin had his shipments delayed because of a sum of 'about 1,500 dollars which is required as a complimentary present to the Birthday of the Hoppo or some of his Family', and Exchin

considered it more adviseable to promise the payment of the fee at the close of the Season than by its immediate liquidation to encourage the repetition of similar demands feeling confident his licenses will not much longer be withheld.

On December 31st the first fleet was ready for dispatch, but the Grand Chops were withheld. The Committee wrote in protest to the Hoppo, pointing out that they had themselves provided the cash with which the merchants had paid the duties, but the clearances were still refused on the ground of some fees being still unpaid. On January 15th, 1813,

it was represented to the four Security Merchants that the Ships would be dispatched this day and that we should not consider it necessary to detain them for these Documents withheld on such a pretence. They promised they shall be most certainly forthcoming early tomorrow.

The port clearances were not issued the next day, and sailing orders were sent to the several commanders; but they were handed to the Committee at 10 a.m. of the 17th and were on board the ships before they reached the Bogue.

On January 26th a barefaced attempt at blackmail is recorded:

Yesterday evening one of the European Servants belonging to the *David Scott* was inveigled into a Boat before the Factory and immediately seized by several Chinese who were in waiting for that purpose, the object in seizing the man was no doubt the expectation of a sum of money being obtained for his release. Kinqua who is Security for the Ship and the Linguists were apprized of the circumstance and an inferior mandarin into whose custody the man had been carried specified the sum of 10,000 Dollars as the price of his liberation. On the affair being communicated to Mr. Elphinstone he strongly recommended Kinqua to resist all payment and to avoid showing any anxiety for the man's release.

At the end of the day, the man, James Cowan, not having been released, a letter was given to the merchants for delivery to the Hoppo demanding his release. Kinqua, knowing his own countrymen, was inclined to pay, but Mr. Elphinstone insisted on his letter being delivered. The Hoppo at once undertook to secure the release of Cowan, who by this time had been sent to the Namhoi Hien. That official sent his prisoner to the factory late in the evening of the 29th,

but, we are informed, unwilling to lose even a chance of extorting money, the Comprador and two Linguists of the Ship are detained by that Officer's orders, as Kinqua states in order to be security for the man's reappearance should the Viceroy require any further inquiry to be made. Anxious if possible to assist in the release of these men as also to prevent any benefit arising to the Mandarin who had detained the European and in the hope of preventing a repetition of these practices,

a detailed account was drawn up and sent in to the Hoppo. To this the Hoppo returned, as usual, a verbal answer that every attention would be paid to the representations; but as no answer was returned to Mr. Elphinstone's request, sent at the same time, to be allowed to pay his respects in person at the approaching New Year, he took the liberty to record his doubt whether the Hoppo had seen his letter.

The Court sent secret instructions, under date of January 31, 1812, to the effect that

Shipment of Sysee Silver being contrary to Law in China, ordered that it does not take place at Whampoa; permitted if expedient to be shipped from Macao.

To these orders the Committee replied—

The export of all metals from China is prohibited, and Sysee Silver is certainly as strictly provided against as the law admits, never the less such is the Venality of the Officers of Government, and so completely does the practice appear at present to be established, that for a certain consideration Sysee Silver is passed by the Officers appointed to prevent the exportation, and for the last two Seasons the shipment of Sysee Silver has been effected without interruption. At the same time we are far from recommending that a Breach of any Law of China should be sanctioned by your Hon'ble Court. . . .[1]

On January 31, 1811, the Committee had asked for instructions as to the course to be followed if the Chinese authorities demanded

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 140.

the surrender of a British subject accused of homicide; and under date of March 20, 1812, the Court wrote:

A person if clearly proved guilty of murder to be delivered up; positively forbidden unless the proof be clear and decided; difficult to furnish instructions how to act, in the event of the demand being made and a refusal being returned.

On this the Committee remarked:

In cases where murder is clearly proved against an Individual, we understand our Orders direct, that the Individual be delivered up to the Chinese Government. In most accidents, however, which are likely to occur, there will be generally some doubt, as to the identity of the Person, or as to the Provocation offered; for it rarely happens that the Police Officers are so attentive, as to be present to prevent any act of aggression, or to apprehend the parties concerned; and as the Character and Conduct of the Chinese Government prevents our entering into any fair or candid Investigation, conjointly with them, we appear to have the alternative but of complying with the demand at once, or of refusing altogether. Having once refused, it becomes extremely difficult in a later stage of the discussion to comply with the demand of the Chinese Government, not from any wish to skreen a person guilty of Murder, but from apprehension of the ill consequences that might result from the erroneous opinion very probable to be attached to the measure of delivering up the offender, and which would be attributed to intimidation, and in the event of an accident occurring, where the circumstances might not be so clearly established, as to admit of a person being delivered up, the refusal might be rendered more difficult and embarrassing. It is impossible to say what measures the Chinese Government might adopt, in the event of our declining to comply with their demand, and we consider this chiefly depends on the personal Character of the Viceroy and the Superior Officers of Government, as your Hon'ble Court have observed no measure of Violence such as that of seizing an innocent person has been resorted to for above 20 years. In the event of any accident unfortunately occurring we conceive our first endeavour should be to prevent by every possible means, the affair becoming publicly agitated, and this in the first instance may at times be accomplished by the payment of a sum of money; should all our endeavours fail recourse will then be had to the suggestions of your Hon'ble Court, together with such other measures as may appear to us to be expedient.

LXIX

THE TYRANNY OF THE HOPPO AND THE VICEROY, 1813

For the season 1813 the Select Committee was composed of Mr. J. F. Elphinstone (President) and Messrs. J. W. Roberts and T. C. Pattle. On the death of Mr. Roberts on November 23rd, Mr. William Bramston was moved up to bring the Committee to its full number. The books were opened on March 3rd with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury		36,807	
Bonds receivable		376,129	
Factory account		28,808	
Loan on factory		54,280	
Tea in stock, 27,561 piculs		634,117	
Camlets and other imports unsold		385,718	
Ponqua and Gnewqua	519,308		
Solvent merchants	361,497		
		880,805	
			2,396,664
Dr. to Mowqua		129,380	
Puiqua		548,974	
Other merchants		71,162	
			749,516
Credit Balance			1,647,148

During the season the Company loaded 19 ships (21,600 tons) for London, of which 5 came direct, 12 by way of Indian ports, and 2 from New South Wales; in addition one ship brought a cargo from Batavia and was dispatched to Calcutta. The import cargoes of 18 ships (excluding the 2 from New South Wales in ballast) realized: woollens (invoice cost f.o.b. £992,818) Tls. 2,827,959, tin in slabs (£68,348) Tls. 176,154, tin in grains (£424) Tls. 1,277, lead (£4,413) Tls. 10,584, iron (£20,825) Tls. 60,484, white lead (£96) Tls. 193, printed cottons (£5,487) Tls. 8,700, total English products Tls. 3,085,351; cotton (invoiced c.i.f. at 1,679,757 Bombay rupees plus 166,081 Sicca rupees plus 98,182 Star pagodas) Tls. 977,584, sandalwood (85,456 pagodas) Tls. 107,829, pepper (83,540 dollars) Tls. 26,880, Batavia consignment (226,646 dollars) Tls. 174,029, total Indian

produce Tls. 1,286,322 ; total realized from the Company's own importation Tls. 4,371,673.

The treasury received in specie, against bills on London at 5*s.* 6*d.* and 365 days, 295,372 dollars, bills on Bengal at 42 and 30 days, 1,992,216 dollars, and for certificates 83,497 dollars, a total of 2,371,085 dollars = Tls. 1,707,171. It was not found possible to ship away any treasure. The investment by the 19 ships was invoiced at Tls. 5,578,056. In addition supplies were shipped to the Cape of Good Hope, invoiced at Tls. 41,601, and to St. Helena, invoiced at Tls. 21,731.

No record was kept of the arrival of American ships at Whampoa or of their cargoes ; but by the two categories of British ships the main elements of the trade were as follows :

		Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Woven Silks.*	*Nankeens.*
		No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English	Company .	20	132,815	238,774	1,192	144	460,000
	Country .	18	110,415	3,187	870	319	150,000
		38	243,230	241,961	2,062	463	610,000

Of the above figures the investment of the Company comprised tea 184,263 piculs, raw silk 1,051 piculs, nankeens 183,000 pieces. Of the raw silk shipped on country ships 778 piculs were of Canton produce. The ships brought no ginseng ; 15,108 piculs of sandalwood ; 14,668 beaver skins and 10,000 rabbit skins.

Incidentally there is recorded the arrival, in the spring of 1813, of three American ships at Macao, and on February 10, 1814, a fourth is recorded—

A schooner has arrived at Macao from America under Portuguese colours having touched at Rio Janeiro on her passage. She is said to have left America the 1st August.

On October 14, 1813, the supercargoes record that

various reports have been in circulation for some days past of a squadron of American Frigates being on the Coast or among the Islands in the neighbourhood of Macao.

The Governor of Macao gave a circumstantial account of their operations, and Captain Briggs, with his own ship H.M.S. *Clorinde*, and the frigates *Doris* and *Owen Glendower*, went on a cruise to search for them, but without result.

Oct. 26. Captain Briggs proceeded with the three Frigates in every direction for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of the Enemy being on the Coast but without success—it was but an idle report and perhaps occasioned by the Hon'ble Company's Cruisers who hoist the Company's Colours having been seen some time since in a Bay to the Eastward.

Though the war kept American ships away from Canton, or at any rate much diminished their number, there were several merchants caught there and stranded, but with some changes since April, 1812. In 1813 the list included Mr. I. P. Cushing (Consul), Mr. J. W. Wilcocks, Mr. B. C. Wilcocks, Mr. Blight, Mr. Chas. Blight, Mr. S. Snow, and Mr. Lewis.

Of the staff of the factory Messrs. Parry, Robarts, and Toone had gone to England, while three junior writers came out—James Bannerman, Charles Marjoribanks, and John Francis Davis.

On the death of Mowqua, his business, considerable in its extent, was continued by his three sons, 'all young and inexperienced, and unacquainted with Europeans'. One of them would be selected to represent the firm at the Consoo, but the position of senior merchant devolved on Howqua (Puiqua). Chunqua 'continued his very pressing entreaties to be readmitted to the Company's employment', a prayer which was granted. In order to mark Howqua's position, he received four shares in the woollens; and they and the tea contracts were on March 5, 1813, distributed as follows. It is to be noted that, while the chests of other teas remain unchanged,[1] those for Bohea now contain

Whole chests	200 lb.
Half ,, ...	100 ,,
Quarter ,, ...	60 ,,

	Woollens. Shares.	*Bohea.* Lge. chests.	*Congou.* Sm. chests.	*Twankay.* Sm. chests.
Puiqua	4	..	24,000	8,000
Mowqua	3	..	18,000	6,000
Conseequa	3	3,025	18,000	7,000
Chunqua	2	..	12,000	4,500
Exchin	2	..	12,000	4,500
Manhop	2	..	12,000	5,000
Poonequa	2	2,250	12,000	4,500
Goqua	2	1,375	12,000	4,500
Kinqua	1	..	6,000	2,000
Fatqua	1	..	6,000	2,000
	22	6,650	132,000	48 000

[1] Cf. vol. ii, pp. 110, 407.

Advances for Twankay were at Tls. 5 a picul, to be paid in March; and for Congou at Tls. 5, payable in June. Gunpowder tea appears for the first time in the records, a small quantity originally provided for the Portuguese ship, which was unable to take it, and now offered to the English Committee at an exceptionally low price:

5	chops	= 31	chests,	1st class	at Tls.	55	a picul
10	,,	60	,,	2nd	,,	50	,,
12	,,	93	,,	3rd	,,	45	,,

The prices of woollens relapsed to the rates obtained in 1810 and were with difficulty maintained at that level, and even then realized a loss of 5 per cent. on the cost f.o.b. with no allowance for freight, insurance, or interest. Trade generally was dull, owing to the rebellion which had been raging in the basin of the Yangtze and which now cut off the distributing area of Kiangnan. The disturbances covered five provinces, being greatest in Kiangnan and Honan, but the resulting famine extended over Shantung.

Opium was again deposited as collateral security for bonds given to obtain bills on Bengal in advance. In September Mr. Beale, the Consul of the King of Prussia, made an arrangement by which he received in September bills for the equivalent of 118,000 dollars paid cash, and during November bills for 700,000 dollars, he paying 230,000 dollars in November, 230,000 in January, and 240,000 in March, giving opium in deposit at the rate of 900 dollars a chest and paying interest of 1 per cent. a month on the amount outstanding. In a charter-party from Bombay to Canton we have the customary injunction against carrying opium in the Company's ships:

> You must take the most Particular care that no Opium be laden on your Ship by yourself your Officers or any other persons as the importation of that article at China is possitively forbidden and serious consequences may attend your neglect of this injunction.

On June 9th news was received of the death of Gnewqua on the frontiers of Tartary. A rumour to that effect had been current in the preceding February, but now his corpse was received in Canton. It was also reported that Assing had received bad treatment, occasioned by his resistance to extortion.

In February, 1814, the third dividend of the debts of Gnewqua and Ponqua was paid, as follows:

	Company. Tls.	*Private.* Tls.
Gnewqua	39,679	53,515
Ponqua	26,586	25,706
	66,265	79,221
	145,486	

The sums due to private traders were actually provided by transfers in the Company's treasury granted to each merchant for his share, but all were supposed to be covered by the assessments for the Consoo fund. The Committee ascertained, though with some difficulty, that the payments made from this fund in recent years had been as follows:

	Tls.		Tls.
1806–7 . . .	691,000	1810–11 . . .	619,000
1807–8 . . .	592,000	1811–12 . . .	763,000
1808–9 . . .	740,000	1812–13 . . .	698,000
1809–10 . . .	885,000		

On these figures the Committee comment thus:

The above sums include as far as we can learn the whole of the charges made on the Merchants on account of Quan Suie contributions levied by order of Government to meet the exigencies of the State generally for the payment of Troops and Armaments employed in quelling Disturbances—The Repairs of the Embankments of the Whang ho River and other principal Rivers and Canals—The Dividends on Bankrupt Merchants Debts—The payments on account of Clocks Watches and other pieces of Mechanism and the annual payments in the shape of fees donations and gratuity to the several Officers of Government and which are all annually levied on the Hong Merchants in their corporate capacity. The mode of collection appears to be that when the sum required by Government is ascertained a percentage on the Imports and Exports of foreign Trade is levied formerly 3 per cent was deemed sufficient this however from the increase of the charges and the decrease of Foreign Trade is by no means adequate to the Demand and the charge in fact may be considered as exceeding 7 per cent. It may be remarked that independent of the above sums there are irregular Demands made upon the Merchants under various pretences—any alleged violation of the Regulations on the part of the Europeans is considered a fit occasion to make a Demand on the Security Merchant of the Ship to which such Europeans may belong.

Several instances are recorded of extortion practised on the merchants during this season, in addition to raiding the Consoo fund, but only two need be cited:

1814, Feb. 10. We understand the amount required to be contributed by the principal persons in Canton in aid of the 6,000,000 Tales required by Government to meet the exigencies of the State is finally arranged. Previous to the arrival of the Imperial Edict the Salt and Hong Merchants as stated under date the 28th Dec'r had conjointly contributed 400,000 taels viz. 160,000 by the Salt and 240,000 by the Hong Merchants. It appears the Viceroy and principal Officers of the Canton Govt. are called on to contribute and the more opulent persons in the province expected to come forward—Puankhequa and Yanqua's sons have paid 20,000 Tales each and a similar sum it is said has been given by the Viceroy and Hoppo. Larger demands were made on the richer Hong Merchants on the score that their connections are Officers of Government and it has been finally arranged that Puiqua sh'd pay 50,000 and Mowqua 30,000 Tales in addition to their share of the Hong contribution. Chunqua has had the address to escape.

Feb. 13. A letter from the merchants to the Committee. We notice respectfully that at this time commerce is with us all very unprosperous. Clocks & Watches &c. are things very useless and whenever they are met with whether a Clock or a Watch or a Box they must be bought at a very great expence. Every year all the hongs collectively spend for Clock & Watches a hundred thousand Dollars, which they pay with great difficulty. We particularly beg the Chief to adopt some means to regulate or put a stop to it that such large sums may not be spent on these useless Clocks & Watches and that everything may rise in its circumstances a little.

Among the Hong Merchants, now ten in number, three (Puiqua, Mowqua, and Chunqua) were entirely solvent, and the remaining seven were much involved. This had been pointed out by the Hoppo in a memorial to the throne in the spring of 1813, and the facts thus reported had so alarmed the imperial ministers for the security of the revenue that, in June, an imperial rescript was issued ordering that

from amongst the Merchants one or two substantial upright and respectable persons be chosen and appointed to take the whole control (or management) of the Hong and to direct all the other Merchants to a just and safe procedure.

On this the Hoppo designated Howqua and Kowqua (son of Mowqua) as the two selected to direct the affairs of the Consoo;

and in July Howqua gave a practical illustration of his leadership by having the cotton from a country ship dealt with in full meeting of the Hong Merchants. On this the Committee, on July 17th, prepared a representation to the Hoppo, giving an historical narrative of previous attempts to establish the monopoly of one merchant or of a Co-Hong, and protesting against the reported intention to revive the plan.

This Hoppo, whose name was Teh, had been reported to be of a benignant disposition, and to have drawn forth his dues by seductive methods ;[1] and, if he had had the same instruments to work with as the supercargoes, he might have been supposed to be imitating the Committee's plan of using the solvent merchants to carry their weaker colleagues through their difficulties. He had, however, to adopt a more arbitrary plan, and at the beginning of June he ordered that the amounts owing for duty on imports should be paid in six instalments, beginning on June 12th and ending at the end of August, as follows :

	Tls.	
Mowqua	63,000	
Puiqua	68,000	
Conseequa . . .	77,000	(including 2,000 pces. Camlets)
Exchin	38,000	
Manhop	238,000	(including 20,000 pces. Camlets)
Poonequa . . .	39,000	
Goqua	34,000	
Kinqua	91,000	
Fatqua	133,000	
	781,000	

These amounts were to be increased by the cost of remittance to Peking ; and they bear evidence, in the exaggerated sums to be paid by Kinqua and Fatqua, to the practice of selling and buying the liability to pay duty. Mr. Elphinstone wrote from Macao to the merchants regretting the departure from ' old custom ', and stating that, having only three days before paid to the merchants a total of 579,833 dollars, he had no longer any money to advance. On June 28th a new appeal came down from Conseequa and Goqua, stating that a new Hoppo was soon to arrive, and that they had been detained at the Hoppo's yamen for a whole day in order to coerce them into paying money which

[1] Cf. *antea*, pp. 171, 185.

they did not have; and at the same time the Hoppo issued a mandate ordering the election of one or two managers of the Consoo. The Committee rejected all appeals and refused to initiate any new procedure. On August 7th Mr. Elphinstone (having duly applied for and obtained a permit for the purpose) went to Canton, returning to Macao on the 15th. He was informed that the new Hoppo, who was soon to arrive,

is represented to be neither moderate or mild and has excited considerable apprehension more especially among the Merchants whose Duties are not forthcoming, they are told the new Hoppo will not take charge till they are paid.

According to the opinion expressed by the solvent merchants, it was expected that, in a total of ten merchants including Chunqua, seven might be in difficulties. Of these—

Conseequa by pawning houses and factories might raise the amount of his duties.

Manhop has credit and means and the Camlet Duties the Company is said to be answerable for.

Poonequa by his recent purchases of cotton and by Chunqua's aid can nearly raise his duties.

Goqua is said to have a rich friend, who if necessary, will advance his duties.

Kinqua has paid the greater part, a deficit of Tls. 25,000 remaining.

Exchin and Fatqua have nothing and must fail.

Chunqua further said that it was believed at the Hoppo House that the Committee would come forward at last and that imprisoning the Merchants would probably be resorted to in the hope of obtaining the amount.

Mr. Elphinstone added to his report that 'from the anxiety shown by Goqua I believe that he has no treasure in store or friend'.

On August 20th, in answer to an appeal from Conseequa, Mr. Elphinstone wrote offering to guarantee the payment before the end of October of the sums set above against the names of Conseequa, Exchin, Poonequa, and Goqua, and of all duties on camlets, on condition that the Hoppo make some concession in the facilities granted, such as not stopping the working of ships because their Security Merchant has not paid his fees, and that the Co-Hong be not established. By this time

the Hoppo had dropped all idea of establishing a Co-Hong of the kind deprecated by the Committee, or of placing the gild under the control of one or two managers, and concentrated all his energies to having the merchants pay their arrears. The new Hoppo, Tsiang, arrived on August 17th and at once made himself disagreeable to all with whom he came in contact. He acted in a boorish and overbearing manner to the Viceroy and the Governor; he refused to take over from the old Hoppo, Teh, until his predecessor should have cleared up his duty account; and he terrorized the merchants.

> The Merchants intimidated by the Character of the new Hoppo and a few harsh threats at their first interview waited on his Predecessor who commenced a lamentable tale of his being detained in Canton as his Successor would not take charge until the Duties were paid. . . . The Hoppo threatens the ruin of any Hong that is deficient a Tale on the 13th of the 8th moon or 7th of September.

A deputation of the merchants went to Macao, and on their representation the Committee wrote to the new Hoppo, undertaking to pay duties up to Tls. 40,000 for Conseequa, Tls. 35,000 for Exchin, Tls. 35,000 for Goqua, Tls. 160,000 for Manhop, Tls. 20,000 for Kinqua, and Tls. 38,000 for Fatqua, a total of Tls. 328,000; but they asked for a postponement of the date from the 12th day of the 8th moon to a later date, since an insistence on the earlier date must bring several of the hongs to bankruptcy. To this no attention was paid, and the money was called in at the date, when Exchin, Kinqua, and Fatqua were unable to pay in full, some of the others having borrowed money at nearly 40 per cent. per annum. The Committee decided that more would be lost by allowing these firms to fail, but they had not enough money in the treasury, and wrote to Howqua and Mowqua, asking them to advance the money required, about Tls. 166,000, on the security of the Committee. The two accepted the commission, but, while the Committee paid them at the end of the 9th moon, the Hoppo required the merchants to pay on the 23rd of the 8th moon.

A month before this the old Hoppo, Teh, had been released and had left Canton with a letter expressing the good wishes of the Committee and their sense of his equity and benignity.

Tsiang began his régime by a message to the Committee on receiving a letter from them, to the effect that

hereafter he would not permit Foreign papers to be presented. The Merchants must translate them and be informed of their Contents and then he would allow of their being presented.

In a few days it was reported that several of the merchants were in prison until they should give the Hoppo a bond for the payment of their duties. Then on September 24th a proclamation by the Hoppo was posted in Macao and in Canton informing the world that he had received an order from the Great Emperor ' not to allow foreigners to busy themselves and presume of their own accord to offer Representations to Government ', but that all complaints by foreigners were to be considered by the Weiyuen (deputy of the Hoppo) and the head merchants—' foreigners were not permitted of their own volition to make representations to the Government '. On this the Committee record their opinion :

Nothing can more strongly express the bad intentions of this Officer or of his ill will towards foreigners. His character has however preceded him and we must be prepared to expect every possible annoyance and interruption which must necessarily arise from his rapacious Disposition. By this shew of insolence he hopes no doubt to be enabled to practise his extortions without a fear of interruptions by application from us.

The next day came a mandate from the Hoppo to the merchants, embodying a communication from the Viceroy in which he referred to the bankruptcy of Gnewqua in 1809 and stated that his predecessor had

reported to his Majesty that the English Chief Roberts was sent here for the purpose of managing the Trade, but he entered into a secret transaction gave property to Gnewqua and connected himself with Ashing to manage the affairs of the Hong, from which it appeared that he was a troublesome person who violated the Laws of the Country. It was not proper to allow him to remain and make disturbance in order to answer his own ends. At that time the Hong Merchants [reported] that the said Nation (England) had because of Roberts having for successive years managed affairs badly and for having violated the Laws of the heavenly Empire despatched a new Chief Brown . . . the said Brown was about to arrive after which an order would be given to expulse Roberts—that he would not be allowed to linger here and cause disturbances.

After the expulsion of Roberts business had gone on with tolerable quiet, but now he had returned to Macao with his family, and the Viceroy desired to be informed by Elphinstone when he was leaving, and by what ship, to return to his own country, and directed that orders be sent to the Chinese officials at Macao to expel him without delay.

Simultaneously with this the Hoppo addressed another mandate to the merchants directing them to inform Mr. Elphinstone that he had been charged with certain presents sent by the President of the Board of Control and by the Chairman of the Court of Directors to Sung Chong, but which the Emperor had decided could not be accepted; and the merchants wrote:

> The Hoppo further proclaims he waits till the Chief go up to Canton after which when the Hoppo goes to measure the Ships, he will order you Sir to be on board waiting for him, he having something to proclaim verbally.

The Committee debated this matter and voted that, much as they wished on all occasions to show respect to the Hoppo, they could not, in the existing circumstances, accede to his wishes.

> It would have afforded Mr. Elphinstone much satisfaction to have seen the Hoppo—in the present circumstances it is impossible for him to meet the Hoppo at the time mentioned and should the Hoppo have any communication to make to Mr. Elphinstone he must adopt some other mode of informing him of what he wishes to impart.

The Committee had a feeling of resentment that the presents had been returned, and Mr. Elphinstone continued to refuse to receive them from the hands of the Hoppo; and, after the factory returned to Canton, the Hoppo waived the point, and on October 10th sent them by the hands of an officer. The Hoppo asked for a complimentary letter of grateful thanks for the imperial favour and condescension, but Mr. Elphinstone would give no more than a formal receipt.

In considering the attack on Mr. Roberts and the order to expel him, the Committee expressed their opinion as follows:

> These publications from the Officers of Government generally proceed from the desire to obtain money as a compensation for suppressing the inconveniences that their orders may excite—consequently whenever an Officer of Govt. has this object in view he commences by some violent attack and supposed violation of Laws and with what regards

foreigners they have less occasion to be guarded than where it relates to their own Countrymen—for the jealousy and contempt with which foreigners are generally treated and in all intercourse with the Govt. are affected to be held gives an Officer every latitude which he may choose to take in the presumption and insolence of his communications. . . . The Edict of the present Viceroy is grounded on the most unjust proceedings and unfounded assertions—if the Character we have heard of this Officer is correct we conceive he will not persist when the circumstances of the arrangement for the affairs of these two Bankrupt Merchants is fully made known to him. The dangers which must necessarily attend the admission of any interference of the Chinese authorities with the appointment of the Hon'ble Ct's Servants are too obvious to require illustration and consequently it becomes our duty most firmly to resist the attempt. . . . It may be adviseable in the first instance to defer landing the Cargoes from the Hon'ble Compy's Ships with a view to excite some attention to our representations and rather than yield the point to resort even if necessary to the measure of suspending the Trade entirely.

In this sense the Committee wrote to the Viceroy a long letter of explanation of Mr. Roberts's action in connexion with Gnewqua's estate, and gave categorically the facts of his return to China; and at the same time stated that he had been sent to Macao sick in the previous January and was now in such a bad state of health that he could not accompany Mr. Elphinstone on his return to Canton. The factory arrived at Canton on September 30th, and found that only the three senior merchants, Puiqua, Mowqua, and Chunqua, were allowed to send boats to the ships, the remaining seven being forbidden to send because they had not met the Hoppo's demands. The letter was sent to the Viceroy, but no answer being received, the ships, which had arrived between September 9th and 21st, were kept with their cargoes still on board. On October 13th Howqua proposed a scheme, which he thought might meet with approval, which had been suggested by the Hoppo; but Mr. Elphinstone rejected all compromise—the Viceroy had lightly raised the question of the right of the Company to select its own servants, and until that was settled in the Company's favour the Committee would do no business. Mr. Elphinstone, however, did not altogether reject the Hoppo's suggestion, that he should assert the Company's right, but should leave it to the merchants to explain in their own way to the Viceroy the facts connected with Gnewqua's estate. For

ten days there was further pause, it being recorded on October 23rd that

> the Viceroy has been for some days past continually engaged in witnessing the trial of skill in the bow & arrow and other military exercises in which the Candidates for Commissions and promotion exhibit their abilities strength & dexterity and are rewarded accordingly—he is obliged to attend and the exhibition continues from morning till dark.

On October 28th a paper was brought from the Hoppo, which, if signed by Mr. Elphinstone and sent to the Viceroy, would, in the Hoppo's opinion, settle the dispute. It embodied an acknowledgement of impropriety in the arrangements made for Gnewqua and a plea for forgiveness; and Mr. Elphinstone rejected it—the Viceroy had raised the question and must settle it. On the 31st the Hoppo proposed to the merchants that they should write the letter in the name of the Committee—that their signatures should in fact be forged—but, subservient as they were, they refused; and on November 5th the Hoppo again urged it. On the 6th Howqua came with a proposal that the Chop should be issued for Mr. Roberts to come to Canton,

> but at the same time we must engage immediately to commence unloading the Ships and that the further discussion of this question should be postponed to a future period.

Mr. Elphinstone was willing to accept a compromise,

> which was to rest satisfied with his tacitly admitting our claims by no longer withholding his consent to Mr. Roberts coming to Canton. With respect to entering into stipulations about unloading the Ships or renewing the question (probably at the moment of the departure of the Fleet) was what he could not listen to.

On November 17th the Viceroy gave way to the extent of sending a message that he did not object to Mr. Roberts coming to Canton for the performance of his duty to the Company, but that, before he sanctioned the issue of the Chop, the ships must begin their unloading: as the question of renewing the discussion later on was passed over in silence, this proposal was not accepted. On November 24th the merchants brought back a letter which had been sent to them the day before for transmission to the Viceroy, and begged Mr. Elphinstone to withhold it for yet a few days, as they were confident that matters were

on the point of being settled to his satisfaction. Mr. Elphinstone declared that he had had many such assurances in the past fifty days; but on being assured by Howqua that he had seen the mandate from the Viceroy, and that delay now could only be that necessitated by its passing from official to official, Mr. Elphinstone agreed to hold back the letter if he were furnished with a copy of the mandate. That same evening letters were received from Mr. Pattle and Mr. Pearson announcing the death of Mr. Roberts on the 23rd.

This was the opportunity of the smaller people among the mandarindom of Canton to declare that, on Mr. Roberts's death, nothing remained now for the Committee but to give orders for the unloading of the ships to begin; but Mr. Elphinstone refused to take any step until the promised mandate of the Viceroy—promised before the sad event—should actually be issued, and on December 2nd, more than two months after the arrival of the ships, nine days after the death of Mr. Roberts, the merchants brought a mandate from the Hoppo, embodying a dispatch from the Viceroy to the effect that, 'having referred the representations of the merchants in behalf of Roberts to the consideration of the Provincial Treasurer, the Provincial Judge, and the Kwangchow Fu, they now reported that the merchants had testified that Roberts had behaved in the matter of Gnewqua and Ponqua well and not ill, and that their inquiries led the three officials to believe that this was the real truth.' Further the Viceroy continued

> the Heang Shan Heen has now presented information that Roberts's Disease has terminated in Death. For the vacancy of Chiefship let the said Nation choose as before a suitable person to fill it.

As the Committee reported to the Secret Committee of the Court under date of February 22, 1814, they had

> finally succeeded in obtaining an Official Document not altogether satisfactory altho' we may hope that it will be sufficient to prevent any attempts of a similar Nature at a future period. By the publication of the Viceroy's Edict of the 2nd Dec'r we were happily relieved from the necessity of taking into consideration the adoption of the measure proposed in Mr. Elphinstone's minute of withdrawing the H.C. Ships, for the purpose of more effectually representing what we had to complain of the Pekin Government: Carrying on an extensive Commerce

sufficient to excite the rapacity of the Officers, protected by no Laws, but on the contrary such Regulations as are made being so vague and undefined, as to admit of any interference or interpretation which a corrupt and despotic Government may be disposed to give them, our only hope of preventing the recurrence of these attacks is by a firm and decided resistance.

The order to unload the ships was given, and Mr. Elphinstone records that from that time 'no interference or interruption worthy of remark has been experienced', and the fleet of eighteen ships was dispatched on February 22nd.

There were some small disturbances, but none of any importance. On October 18th in an affray with Chinese at Canton two sailors of the ship *Marquis of Ely* were stabbed; the commander was reprimanded by the Committee for having disobeyed positive orders in sending a boat to Canton. On November 5th two officers of H.M.S. *Phoenix*, ashore at Chuenpi, were maltreated and robbed; as this occurred in the midst of the dispute over Mr. Roberts, an appeal to the Kwangchow Fu secured immediate redress. On February 9th Captain Collins of the *Warley* being struck and grossly insulted in his own rented factory by a Customs officer, knocked him down. On a complaint being made to the Hoppo, he promised redress.

James Davies, a sailor on the *Lowther Castle*, charged Joseph (or Anthony) de Silva, a sailor on the *Charles Grant*, with being concerned in the murder of his brother in December, 1810; a committee of three commanders found that a prima facie case was made out, and it was ordered that de Silva be confined and delivered for trial at London, while Davies was bound over to give evidence.

Some sailors of the *Charles Grant* being charged with theft of nankeens on board, they were tried by a commission of five commanders; four were found guilty, and they were sentenced, three to three dozen, and one to two dozen, lashes on the bare back, a boat's crew from each of the other ships to attend the punishment.

On his way out in 1812 Mr. Roberts had been requested verbally by Mr. Raffles to send a body of Chinese labourers to his new settlement of Minto on the island of Banka, and, while at Macao, had sent a number forward—on December 13, 1813,

a consignment of 700, and on February 8, 1814, a further lot of 425, making a total in the two seasons of a little more than 1,700. The labourers were embarked at Macao, and the commander was in each case to receive passage money of 30 dollars for each man landed on Banka.

In May, 1813, the surgeon to the factory, having procured from Manila some vaccine virus in good condition, proposed to write to Bengal and Madras withdrawing the request of the Committee that a supply of the virus be sent on living subjects. In the same month, however, the Secretary to the Medical Board at Calcutta wrote on the subject, that the reintroduction of the virus through children seemed the most certain, but this was out of the question, and he suggested that the Company's agents in Java and in Amboyna be instructed to send flasks of the matter, in the hope that it might be effective after so short a voyage. It was, however, sent from Madras on the living subject, as appears from the following record:

Nov. 27. As the Natives of Madras sent by that Government for the purpose of reviving the Cow Pox in China appear to suffer much from the cold weather and as no Vessel will sail for that Presidency before January we are under the necessity of sending them to Penang.

Their 'pay' was accordingly issued to December 31st, and they were shipped off.

The renewal of the Company's charter was debated in Parliament through the greater part of the session of 1813. In the end a new charter was granted for twenty years only, by which the Company retained its political and military power—the government of India; but the trade of India was thrown open. The monopoly of trade between England and China was reserved to the Company as of old; but there is no reference to the new charter in the records of the Select Committee at Canton.

LXX

AMERICAN SHIPPING AND BRITISH FRIGATES, 1814

For the season 1814 the Select Committee consisted of Mr. J. F. Elphinstone (President), Mr. T. C. Pattle, and Sir G. T. Staunton. The books were opened on March 1st with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury	283,310	
Bonds receivable	396,806	
Factory account	31,415	
Loan on factory	54,280	
Tea in stock	498,465	
Imports unsold	19,631	
Owed by Chinese merchants	854,623	
		2,138,530
Dr. to Owed to Chinese merchants		328,815
Credit Balance		1,809,715

During the season the Company loaded for London twenty-two ships of about 23,500 tons chartered tonnage. Their import cargoes realized: woollens (invoiced at £870,238 f.o.b.) Tls. 2,608,093, lead (£8,559) Tls. 18,899, tin (£49,499) Tls. 124,660, iron bars, &c. (£24,631) Tls. 62,384, total English products Tls. 2,814,036; cotton (invoiced c.i.f. 45,000 sicca rupees, plus 1,254,269 Bombay rupees, plus 101,863 star pagodas, plus 750 rix dollars) Tls. 705,400, sandalwood (51,753 pagodas) Tls. 60,696, Banka tin Tls. 60,401, birds'-nests Tls. 58,842, Sumatra rice Tls. 6,606, indigo Tls. 675, total Indian products Tls. 892,620; total from imports on the Company's own account Tls. 3,706,656.

Silver was received into the treasury to the following amounts: for bills on London at 5*s.* 6*d.* and 365 days 556,815 dollars, at 5*s.* 9*d.* and 365 days 49,000 dollars, at 6*s.* and 6 months 15,750 dollars; for bills on Bengal at 42 dollars per 100 current rupees and 30 days 2,407,271 dollars, at 42 and 60 days 200,000 dollars; under Indian engagements 222,460 dollars; for interest 49,102 dollars; there is no record of the certificates issued, but we may

assume their amount at 100,000 dollars; making a total of 3,600,398 dollars = Tls. 2,592,287. The fourth instalment for the debts of Gnewqua and Ponqua, Tls. 66,265, increases this to Tls. 2,658,552. The investment by the twenty-two ships was invoiced at Tls. 5,899,545. The comprador's account for factory expenses showed a total of Tls. 67,634. Transfers in the treasury were granted for Tls. 758,387. The invoice for the Cape was Tls. 3,507, and for St. Helena Tls. 28,537.

Particulars of the trade by five out of thirteen American ships are recorded, giving the following figures:

	Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Woven Silks.*	*Nankeens.*
	No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
English { Company	22	91,177	249,199	1,680	239	5,875
English { Country	23	225,845	2,408	1,413	143	1,213
American	13	..	7,133	..	160	547
	58	317,022	258,740	3,093	542	7,635

Of the shipments by the English Company's ships, those on the Company's own account were—tea 196,340 piculs, raw silk 1,568 piculs, nankeens 242,700 pieces. Of the thirteen American ships, two are noted as being brigs and five schooners; of the five of which cargo particulars are recorded, two were brigs and two schooners; the one ship, the *Jacob Jones*, 550 tons, of Boston, imported nominally in ballast.

Of ginseng the four American vessels brought 108 piculs, English none. Of sandalwood, American none, English 7,162 piculs. The five American ships brought 58,225 sealskins and 13,168 other furs, English ships 4,639 sealskins and 41,486 other fine furs.

On October 25th

arrived a Ship under Russian Colors from Archangel, but last from the Coast of Pedir [northern end of Sumatra] with a cargo of Beetlenut and 60,000 Dollars in Specie.

On February 2nd, 1815, it is recorded that

the Govt. have constantly refused her applications for permission to enter the River. We understand she has however found means to deliver the Beetlenut and to take on board a cargo of Teas. She now lies at Chuenpee surrounded by the War Boats, who have shewn such activity in detaining all English Boats; while the Ship which they were ordered to drive away, has loaded and unloaded with nearly as much regularity as if she were at Whampoa.

By the ships of the previous season the Committee sent to the Court their estimate of the amount of teas required for the investment of the season 1814, and made it to be 22,880,000 lb., this providing a lading for five ships of the first class taking 1,550,000 lb. each, and eleven ships of the second class taking 1,350,000 lb. each. After the dispatch of the ships and before going to Macao, they revised their estimate and provided for a larger tonnage, estimating that they would require to ship for the Company about 27,000,000 lb. It may be said that their actual shipments were 26,180,000 lb.

	lb.
Of the quantity estimated they had remaining in stock	3,130,000
and they bought as a winter purchase	3,691,500
	6,821,500

They then proposed to obtain by contract, or as a probable purchase, the following teas:

		lb.	
Bohea		1,000,000	
Congou	160,000 chests	14,080,000	
Souchong	3,000 „	225,000	
Twankay	48,000 „	3,760,000	
Hyson	12,000 „	792,000	
Hyson Skins	6,000 „	396,000	
			20,253,000
			27,074,500

The woollens (other than camlets) were divided, and the contracts for tea were made as follows:

	Woollens. Shares.	*Bohea.* Lge. chests.	*Congou.* Sm. chests.	*Twankay.* Sm. chests.
Puiqua	4	..	26,000	8,000
Mowqua	3	..	20,000	6,000
Conseequa	3	2,500 whole 1,700 half 1,700 qr.	22,000	6,000
Chunqua	2	..	15,000	5,000
Exchin	2	..	15,000	4,000
Manhop	2	..	15,000	4,000
Poonequa	2	..	15,000	4,000
Goqua	2	..	15,000	4,000
Kinqua	1	..	8,000	2,000
Fatqua	1	..	9,000	2,000
	22	3,775	160,000	45,000

There seems to have been some uncertainty in the weight of leaf in a chest of Bohea. In this contract made in March and in an estimate made in September, the weights were:

	March.	*September.*
	lb.	lb.
Whole chest	200	210
Half ,, ...	115	110
Quarter ,, ...	65	60

The Hong Merchant Exchin died on May 10th. There was some delay in licensing his successor, but by the end of August the Hong Chop was issued to his brother Pakqua, who continued the firm under the same name.

In writing to the Governor-General, Lord Moira, the Committee gave it as their opinion that 'it is on the proceeds of Opium that we chiefly depend for Cash for Bills on Bengal'; and they continued the practice of issuing the bills in advance of cash, the remitter giving his bond and a lien on opium in warehouse as collateral security. Thus towards the end of October Mr. Thomas Beale, the Prussian Consul, applied for bills on Bengal for the equivalent of 800,000 dollars to be given to him on November 1st at the exchange of 42 dollars per 100 current rupees, he to pay cash 2 lakhs of dollars during November, 2 lakhs by February 1st, 2 lakhs by March 15th, and 2 lakhs by May 15th, with interest on amount outstanding at 1 per cent. a month; Mr. Beale gave his bond and indicated 900 chests of opium as security. The factory at this date was still at Macao, and it was at Macao that the opium trade was mainly carried on; and in the season we have an entry which shows that the trade occasionally attracted the attention of the Chinese officials. Under April 1, 1815, we have the following entry:

Some months since six of the Principal Opium Dealers at Macao were seized and lodged in the custody of the Heangshan-heen: for some time it was considered to be nothing more than the usual attempt to extort a sum of money from these persons, who in addition to their regular fees are at times laid under contribution by the Officers of Government. A large sum was named as the price of their liberty, amounting as it was said to 80,000 Dollars, which they declined to give. From the Heangshan-heen's custody these persons were removed to Canton, where they underwent very severe torture, and were made to confess that they dealt in Opium. It has been said that the cause of their

arrest is that the former chief Pirate Apotsi, now an Officer commanding a division of war vessels on the station near Chinchew or Amoy; who from his former practices was fully informed of the Opium Trade, resolved on seizing some of the vessels employed therein, hoping to profit thereby . . . the parties taken were examined and detailed whence they had obtained their Opium, and the principal dealers of that commodity. The Viceroy of Fokien communicated the circumstances to the Viceroy of Canton, and in consequence the parties at Macao were apprehended. It is now generally believed that these people will be banished to Elee, and that further precautionary measures will be taken respecting Opium, which may cause some delay in the Sales, and may further require increased duties and charges from a greater number of Officers and Police people being employed to prevent the Sale.

The supercargoes and writers at the factory, other than those on the Select Committee, were Mr. Cotton, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Mr. Urmston, Mr. Molony, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Plowden, Mr. Millett, Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Marjoribanks, and Mr. Davis. In succession to Mr. Parry the senior supercargo, Mr. Bramston, had gone on the Committee, but the Court of Directors had made other arrangements.

Sept. 6. In compliance with the orders received from the Hon'ble Court Mr. Wm. Bramston retired from the Select Comm'ee and Sir George Staunton took his seat at the Board.

Oct. 16. It is with deep regret we record the loss of another Member of our small Society in the death of Mr. William Bramston who after a short but painful illness of one week expired about 2 o'clock this day.

Mr. Davis was relieved of all other duties in order that he might study Chinese. In December he translated a document received from the Heungshan Hien; and in January it was proposed that the following should be printed:

Translations of Extracts from the Peking Gazette, by the Rev. Robert Morrison.

San-Yu-Low, or the Three Dedicated Rooms, a Tale, translated from the Chinese, by J. F. Davis, Esq. of this Establishment.

The Court had accepted Mr. Morrison's proposal to undertake the printing of a dictionary to be compiled by him, and had sent out a printer named P. P. Thoms, and a press with type and all necessary equipment.

In March Mr. Morrison had written to the Committee pointing out the advisability of having some members of the factory study Chinese, and proposing a regular system. By this two

of the junior members were to be exempted from other duties and be free to devote themselves to the study of Chinese; of these the senior, who would have the more extensive knowledge, would help the translator or interpreter to the factory, and, on occasion, might take his place. Thus when, in October, Sir G. T. Staunton, who was himself a very competent interpreter, went to Canton to represent his colleagues of the Committee in settling the dispute with the officials which was then raging, he was accompanied, not by Mr. Morrison, but by Sir T. Metcalfe and Mr. Davis.

Mr. Morrison, in his letter, also adverted to the risks run by Chinese teachers engaged to teach their own language to foreigners, and the necessity of providing them with accommodation in the factory, so that they might not have to go in and out. The officials were always resentful of the attempts of foreigners to learn Chinese, and visited their resentment on the Chinese teachers whenever they could get hold of them. In the discussions of 1813 over Mr. Roberts, and in the discussions of 1814 which will be referred to below, it was necessary to be outspoken and to make declarations which were displeasing to the officials to whom they were addressed, and who much preferred the polite phraseology and the submissive attitude of the Hong Merchants. All the members of the factory knew this, and Mr. Morrison came to realize that, in acting as the mouth of the Committee, he attracted attention to himself and might be in some personal danger. On October 10th, ten days before Sir G. T. Staunton started for Canton, Mr. Morrison wrote to the Committee as follows:

I hope that I shall not be thought to assume too much when I say I am ever ready as heretofore to fulfill zealously the duties of the situation to which your Hon'ble Committee has appointed me. But at this moment as in some other cases, the Duties of Chinese Translator are attended with considerable personal hazard. Heretofore in serious discussions with the Chinese and which have been offensive to the local Government of Canton they have persecuted and revenged themselves on the individual Translator. The treatment of Mr. Flint and Padré Roderigo are two Cases which occur to my recollection, and with these before me, I cannot help feeling an apprehension that writing or translating a Letter to His Majesty the Emperor of China, which will of course contain an impeachment of the local Government of this

Province, will subject me to personal suffering from the Chinese even long after the present difference shall be arranged. I state this in the most respectful manner, and beg your Hon'ble Committee to suggest what may be deemed expedient to remove the reasonable apprehension which is felt by

Your most Obedient humble Servant.

The Committee, as the result of a long consultation, informed Mr. Morrison that they felt the force of his apprehensions, and that

we should consider ourselves as altogether unworthy the Situation we hold, or of the Charge that has been intrusted to us, should we for a moment allow ourselves to doubt on whom responsibility was to attach for any act committed by our Authority or in obedience to our Instructions, or for the opinions expressed in any document or communication in any meeting with the officers of the Chinese: in every case we conceive that the Committee alone can be responsible.

When the blow came, however, it fell, not on Mr. Morrison, but on Sir G. T. Staunton. On March 3, 1815, the Committee obtained copies of a secret memorial to the Emperor sent by the Viceroy on November 30th, 1814, when the disputes of the year were still unsettled, and of the Viceroy's mandate to the head merchants embodying the Emperor's instructions transmitted by the Privy Council and received on February 16th, 1815. In the latter the Viceroy was instructed to institute a secret inquiry into the conduct of Sir G. Staunton:

Staunton from a youth was artful as an Imposter, and is maturely acquainted with the state and appearance of the interior. If at Macao he has not been very safe and proper in his conduct you must not on any account expel him and allow him to return home. It is proper to pluck out his errors or slips and contrive to remove him to some other place, where he may be guarded against and kept under controul.

On this instruction the Committee record the following minute:

If it could be supposed that there was any probability of the Government acting on the document, it would be incumbent on the Committee to lose no time in placing Sir George Staunton in security as to his person, and providing at the same time for the Security of British Subjects by withdrawing from the power of the Chinese Government.... That the Canton Government do not avail themselves of this Imperial sanction to exhibit their power and authority we attribute to no sense of justice or liberality to foreigners, but to a conviction that such measures would be attended with most serious consequences.

In answer to the Viceroy's mandate the Hong Merchants certified briefly to the Hoppo that

the said foreigner Staunton in mercantile transactions has always remained quietly in his department, observing the laws. Nor are there any traces of his having in the course of his time instigated foreigners to improper acts or of carrying on a system of combination.

To the Namhoi Hien for the information of the Viceroy they gave particulars of Sir G. Staunton's career in greater detail, and an equally satisfactory certificate of character; and, as peace was now temporarily restored, a report was sent to Peking which completely exonerated him.

One case of homicide occurred during the season, at Macao, with no Chinese involved:

Sept. 26. We are sorry to learn that one of the Seamen belonging to H.M.S. *Doris* was murdered last night. Capt. O'Brien applied to the Governor, and was shortly after informed that two Soldiers had delivered themselves up, they were put in Irons and will be sent to Goa to stand their trial.

The result of the trial is not recorded.

There were several causes of disagreement which brought the Committee into collision with the Chinese officials during the season. One such cause goes back to 1812, when the President of the Board of Control and the Chairman of the Court of Directors sent complimentary letters to Sung Ta-jen on his appointment as Viceroy of the Two Kwang, accompanied by presents, among the latter being a portrait of the Prince Regent in a gold box. These were sent surreptitiously to Peking by the hands of a linguist named Ayew. He arrived at Peking in May, 1813, as was known by a letter through the Hong Merchant Fatqua, received on July 14th. A new regulation had come into force, and Sung Ta-jen had felt compelled to give a full explanation to the Emperor, who allowed him to accept the letters but required that the presents should be returned through the newly appointed Hoppo, who was then about to start from Peking. On his return in September Ayew had expressed his confidence that nothing untoward would happen; but on December 4th it was noted that Ayew was to be punished for having acted as agent and messenger for the foreigners, a decision attributed to

the exertions of the Hong Merchants, who we understand were generally

active at the Hoppo Office in representing the many inconveniences of permitting these representations and communications with Pekin, and for the purpose of preventing any other Chinese engaging in a similar undertaking, it would be as well to make an example of the Linguist Ayow.

For a time Ayew managed to escape the meshes of the law, though at the cost of the greater part of the 2,000 dollars which had been given to him as a fee; but on October 8, 1814, he was arrested by order of the Viceroy, annoyed, it was supposed, at the action of the Committee in keeping their ships from entering the river. Upon this the Committee resolved to address a letter to the Emperor, detailing their many grievances, and to 'address it to the Viceroy, Tsiangkün and Fouyuen with a request that it may be transmitted to Pekin without delay'. This incidentally brought out Mr. Morrison's appeal for protection. Ayew now, on October 14th, smuggled out a letter in which he informed the President that he had been examined by the Namhoi Hien himself, who had said that

it was resolved to treat me as Woo Ashing was treated, Fatqua as Gnewqua, and the Chief Elphinstone as the Chief Roberts. . . . As it is determined to treat me in this manner, if I do not confess I shall be beaten to death, I have therefore no choice left but to act the just and honorable part and die to save all those who would innocently be sufferers.

His attempts at suicide were frustrated. During the negotiations with Sir G. Staunton towards the end of October, the Viceroy 'disavowed the arrest of the Linguist being on account of any connection with the English', and declared that his offence was trivial and his punishment would be light; but on November 4th Ayew wrote to Sir G. Staunton that the Viceroy was about to issue a mandate to the Hong Merchants ordering that the ships should begin to unload within three days, failing which 'my head is to be cut off'. On December 11th Mr. Morrison was informed by Fatqua that the Fuyuen was Ayew's determined enemy. In January the Committee learned that he was being treated better. On January 23, 1815, the imperial orders were received respecting Le-yew (Ayew):

Le-yew being a native who heretofore had been employed to serve in the English Factory, presumed improperly to purchase rank and hold

a secret intercourse with the said foreigners from whom he borrowed money; it is apprehended that he has learned and practiced the religion of the Lord of Heaven. It is ordered that Tseang (the Viceroy) do again call him to the bar and make the said criminal undergo a rigorous examination. Moreover order him to tread over the Cross. If the said criminal has observed the religion of the Lord of Heaven, it will not be difficult to discover it at once. . . . If they on trial discover clearly that he has not observed the said religion, let them act according to what has been determined and send him to E-lee to hard labour.

Ayew was then called before the Viceroy, the Governor, the Treasurer, and the Judge, before whom he declared his adherence to the religion of his fathers and readily trampled on the Cross. He was then transported to Ili, and the Committee could do no more for him than to make some money arrangement for his maintenance.

The greatest part of the difficulties with the Chinese officials during the season was due to the relations which existed between the British ships of war and American privateers and merchant ships. Notwithstanding the war, Canton was visited during the season by not less than ten American vessels which came to engage in trade. Of these some were quite small, trusting apparently to their speed and insignificance for their safety; some of relatively larger size were heavily armed and manned, and moreover, for their further protection, were provided with letters of marque; some were at once small, well armed, and privateers. Thus on March 4th

The *Tamahanaha* [*sic*] American Schooner anchored at Whampoa last from the N.W. Coast [of America] to which place she had been dispatched with the intelligence of the War, we understand she has brought on a valuable cargo of Skins, which had been collected by several vessels on that coast, as also a great part of their Officers and Crews, she carries 16 Guns and 40 men.

The English Company's fleet of 1813, with the convoying ships of war, had been dispatched on February 24, 1814; and on March 10th,

Several of the American Vessels are loading and preparing for Sea desirous of availing themselves of the occasion now offered of getting off the Coast of China in the absence of H.M. Ships. The Vessels in the greatest state of forwardness are the Ships *America* and *Hunter*, and Schooner *Tamahmaha* [*sic*].

The American ship *Hunter* (there was in these years an English country ship of the same name from Bombay), Captain Pinnell, of 300 tons, arrived from Salem in September, 1809; under Captain Rogers she was again at Canton in 1811, and came again in 1812 from the Marquesas Islands with a cargo of sandalwood. Her arrival in the winter of 1813–14 is not recorded, but she is noted as having sailed from Whampoa on March 16, 1814; and, the factory having gone to Macao on the 13th, we have the following recorded:

March 29. A report has prevailed for some days that the American Ship *Hunter* has been captured by H.M.S. *Doris*, and this forenoon accounts were received in Canton confirming the intelligence. It appears that the *Hunter* was captured off the Grand Ladrone. On the reports first reaching Canton, several persons had been sent from the American Ships in Chinese Boats, to ascertain whether any of H.M. Ships were on the Coast, and on their return have reported that they saw the *Hunter* in company with H.M. *Doris*. The Schooner *Tamahmaha* [*sic*] which had proceeded to the Bocca Tigris on her voyage returned to Whampoa and the further proceedings of other American Ships we understand are for the present suspended.

March 31. Arrived H.M.S. *Doris* and Capt. O'Brien landed in the evening.

April 1. Anchored in the Roads the *Hunter*, prize to H.M.S. *Doris*.

On April 3rd the Committee received a mandate from the Künming Fu, stating that he had been informed by two pilots that

the English Brien's Cruizer on the 12th of the 2nd moon left the Port to return home as convoy to the merchantmen. On the 12th of this month he returned to Macao Roads bringing with him the American La-che-she's Ship, a merchantman. We immediately made enquiry and on applying to Capt. Rogers he said that on the 26th of the 2nd moon he passed the Bogue and was proceeding home, he had proceeded as far as the Seven Islands when he was intercepted by the Brien's Cruizer, which would not let him go, but brought him back. On enquiry of Brien's Cruizer there was a barbarous and unfeeling reliance on power, we were reprimanded and driven away. We pismires can do nothing but announce the facts.

The Künming Fu required the Chief to order O'Brien to release the American ship forthwith and so atone for his violation of the laws of the Celestial Empire.

The Committee, considering that the capture had been effected 'off the Grand Ladrone to the Southward and West-

ward', and therefore outside of Chinese jurisdiction, replied that a state of war existed between America and Great Britain and that, by the law of nations, the capture was fully justified; and they returned the same answer on April 15th to the Hong Merchants, who wrote inquiring for the information of the Hoppo. Captain O'Brien went to Canton on the 13th and returned on the 16th.

April 20. Sailed the *Hunter* prize to H.M.S. *Doris*, by this opportunity Mr. Greenaway returned to Madras,

the presumption being that she was sent to the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty at Fort St. George.[1] On the 25th the Committee were informed by a letter from the merchants that the Viceroy had given instructions that, the Indiamen having left, the ships of war should all sail away and not loiter outside creating disturbance:

Order the said Cruizer to make haste, set sail and return home. On this coming to me, the Hoppo, I find that this business was already laid before me by the Weiyuen of Macao, and I have already enjoined the Merchants to enjoin it on the said Chief to enjoin the said foreigners to set sail and return home.

The Hoppo then repeated the Viceroy's orders and his own, and directed the merchants to order the Chief to see that all this was done and to 'report the day appointed for her departure'. To this communication, as they had already replied to previous letters of the Künming Fu and the merchants, the Committee returned no answer.

The capture of the *Hunter* appears not to have again been referred to by the Chinese officials, except as additional matter to support their later charges. On May 8th

About 3 o'clock an American Schooner stood into Macao Roads towards the Taypa, but perceiving two boats belonging to H.M.S. *Doris* off Cabrita Point she attempted to run close in under the guns of the Fort, when a third boat headed her, and she was compelled to haul her wind and stand for Canton, the boats in chase. At ½ past 4 a signal was made for H.M.S. *Doris* to the Eastward. The breeze having freshened, the Schooner appeared to have the advantage in sailing at the close of the evening she was seen under a press of sail, the Frigate and boats continuing the chase.

[1] Cf. vol. ii, p. 87; *antea*, p. 65.

May 12. H.M.S. *Doris* anchored in the Roads and shortly after Capt. O'Brien landed. It appears from the account given by the officer commanding the boats that they got up with the Schooner at Whampoa about 10 o'clock on the night of the 9th that the Americans first fired from the Schooner *Sphynx* into the boats they immediately boarded her and one of the English sailors was unfortunately killed and the American Officer wounded in the arm. No other person on either side was wounded. On getting possession of the vessel her cable was cut and she was taken in tow by the boats, from the length of the Schooner, and there being but little wind with a strong tide, it was difficult to keep [? steerage way] and she shortly grounded near Banksall Island. The armed Schooner *Tamahmaha* [*sic*] and other vessels fired their Guns on the boats and Schooner but without effect. On discovering her aground the Americans left their Ships and got on shore immediately abreast of the vessel, when it appeared as well as could be judged that they were preparing for an attack, a great concourse of Chinese collected and crowded round the Americans, the Officer was apprehensive that, if compelled to fire, numbers of these Chinese would have suffered, on this consideration he judged it proper to withdraw from the *Sphynx*, and ordered his people into the boats, by some accident 4 of the Marines were left on board the Schooner. Capt. O'Brien intends to address the Viceroy on the late occurrence and to request that the men may be returned, as from the circumstance of their being in a neutral port they cannot be considered Prisoners of War.

In the Committee's Diary the *Sphynx* is entered as having arrived on May 5th, and the *Russell* on May 9th; it is, therefore, to be presumed that it was the *Russell* which was chased from Macao Road to Whampoa, and not the *Sphynx*; in the Chinese report it was the vessel which had just arrived that was boarded—i. e. the *Russell*, while Captain O'Brien refers to the *Sphynx*. The infringement of the neutrality of the port was at once reported to the Hoppo, who then directed the merchants to go in person to Macao and inquire of the Chief why, after the departure of the fleet, the ship of war still loitered around Canton, and why the boats passed the Bogue; and to impress on him that he would be held responsible for any future disturbance caused by the ship of war. To this the Committee paid no attention.

The *Doris* sailed on May 13th for a cruise, and again anchored in Macao Road on June 7th. Early on the morning of June 7th the American ship *Jacob Jones* passed up the river—a ship of 550 tons from Boston, fitted out as a privateer, with 20 guns

and a crew of 78 men. A sister ship, the *Hyder Ally*, fitted out by the same owners, was captured by H.M.S. *Owen Glendower* off the Nicobars. The *Jacob Jones* had made two captures off the coast of Borneo, and after taking out some opium, fine cottons, and dollars, had let her prizes go. On June 20th it was noted that

> Several of the American Vessels are loading and preparing for Sea, the three Schooners are ready, the *Jacob Jones* and *Anne* nearly loaded ;

but on the 22nd H.M.S. *Theban* arrived at Macao from Malacca, and the Americans thought it prudent not to go out. The senior Hong Merchant, Howqua, was, on the strength of evidence found in prizes taken, supposed by the Committee to be interested in the cargoes of these ships thus prevented from leaving, and was accused, in their report to the Court, of stirring up the officials to hostility to the English. On August 20th the Tsotang of Macao called on Mr. Morrison and informed him that orders had come from the Fuyuen to prevent ' the illegal practice of Natives serving Foreigners '. This was intended by the Tsotang as a friendly intimation, and, in fact, no attempt was made to enforce the prohibition in the English factory, either at Canton (where Mr. Moloney was at the time) or at Macao ; but a perquisition was made among the Chinese converts at Macao, and, on September 4th,

> the Rev'd Mr. Marchini applied at the request of the Superior of the College of St. Josephe to send on board H.M.S. *Doris* a Chinese Christian by name Abel Yen.

His sole offence, apart from his Christianity, was that he prepared and sold Chinese-Latin vocabularies, by the aid of which foreigners might acquire some knowledge of the Chinese language.

The direct ships began to arrive on September 1st and were strung along through the whole month, but before a sufficient number had arrived to necessitate the return of the factory to Macao, events occurred which indefinitely postponed it. On September 12th the American armed brig *Rambler*, Captain Edes, of Boston, arrived and proceeded to Whampoa. The next day her prize, the *Arabella*, a country ship of Bengal, also arrived and

> anchored in the Roads under English Colours. On ascertaining that H.M. Ships were at Chumpee the Officer in charge of the *Arabella* determined on carrying the Ship into Macao Harbour. Agreeably with

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existing treaty the Portuguese Government refused to protect the *Arabella* and ordered a Guard on board with instructions to carry the Ship beyond the limits of Portuguese Neutrality, where the Ship was found abandoned by the Boats of H.M.S. *Doris*, and was taken possession of for the benefit of the owners. Notwithstanding very clear evidence and corroborating circumstances brought forward as well by the Portuguese Government as ourselves that the Vessel was not an American, but an English captured ship, the Canton Government appeared very unwilling to admit that the Vessel was not an American as she had at first been represented by the Americans to be, and in retaliation for the supposed breach of neutrality supplies were at first refused to His Majesty's Ships and the English and American Trade was suspended, and the Port Clearances were refused to some of the Country Ships on the eve of departure for India.

The Committee sent written protests to the Viceroy, but, as they were written in the Chinese character, he refused to receive them:

The Viceroy has most openly declared that he will receive no communications from us if written in Chinese Character, but that if we wish to address him it must be in English.

At this juncture, on October 2nd, the Committee received from Vice-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, Commander-in-Chief, dispatches dated August 10th, in reply to the Committee's report of the capture of the *Hunter* by the *Doris*. He pointed out, without entering into the question whether the seizure had been effected on the open sea or in Chinese waters, that the *Doris* was actually returning from having convoyed the fleet for a certain distance, and had not pounced on the *Hunter* from a lair in a Chinese port. At the same time he sent open orders that H.M. ships should

cause the same respect to be paid to the Neutrality of the Chinese Empire as is agreeable to the Laws of Nations and conformable to the Rulers of other Neutral States under similar circumstances.

These instructions came too late to regulate the conduct of Captain O'Brien in regard to the *Sphynx* and the *Arabella*.

It was at this juncture also, on October 4th, that the Viceroy, exasperated at the refusal of the English—the factory and the ships of war—to conform to his requirements, ordered the arrest of Ayew.

When the Viceroy refused to receive any communication from the Committee, and

had resorted to such violent measures and had published Official Documents of so hostile a Nature, that in concurrence with Captain Hodgson the Senior Officer of H.M. Ships on this Station, we considered it to be expedient and proper that all British Ships should be prevented entering the River, and that all British Subjects should be recommended to leave Canton.

Some country ships and three of the Company's ships had entered the river before the trouble began, but those which arrived after the recapture of the *Arabella* were held back at Chuenpi; and

on finding that the English Ships did not enter the River, the Viceroy thought it proper to retract from some of his hostile measures. The Trade was reopened to such English Ships as had entered the River before the discussion took place and the prohibition to supply provisions to His Majesty's Ships was not enforced.

The Committee then proposed that Sir George Staunton should go to Canton to meet an officer to be deputed by the Viceroy to discuss a means of settlement. This proposal the Viceroy accepted. Sir G. Staunton then, on October 20th, went to Canton and was visited at the factory by a representative of the Viceroy accompanied by the Kwangchow Fu, the Namhoi Hien, and the Heungshan Hien.

At the first and the several subsequent meetings that took place the arrest of the Linguist Ayow was discussed, explanation was attempted to be evaded in various ways when after considerable discussion, an official declaration was obtained from the Viceroy that the arrest of the Linguist was not on account of any connection with the English, but in consequence of a breach of the Law, for, having once been in a menial Situation, he had afterwards purchased rank.

Then the Viceroy, tired apparently of making concessions, interposed with an ultimatum—he would allow no further negotiations until after the ships had entered the river and begun to unload. This condition was not accepted by Sir G. Staunton, who, on November 10th, ordered all British subjects to quit Canton, and himself proceeded on board those of the Company's ships which had been at Whampoa but had now dropped down below the Second Bar; but before he had passed the Bogue he was overtaken by Howqua, who persuaded him to return. He was again in Canton on the 15th, but the officer did not come to the factory until the 19th. On the 21st matters were so far adjusted that,

to save the face of the Viceroy, orders were sent for the ships to move into the river from Chuenpi and from Lintin; but the Viceroy's mandate confirming the settlement was not received until December 2nd. In writing to the Secret Committee of the Court, the Select Committee summarized their view of the case in the following terms:

The Edict published in the early part of the season ordering H.M. Ships to quit the Coast, we conceived, originated with those persons interested in the sailing of the American vessels; and altho' the Merchants ought to be fully aware that we have no control over His Majesty's Officers, and which indeed they have fully acknowledged, we are sorry to observe that no member of the Hong could be found, who had the inclination or sufficient influence to explain this fully to the Mandarines. Looking therefore solely to the Comm'ee the Viceroy refused to accept the address of the Captain of the *Doris*, and considered us responsible for his acts. Altho' we could not but highly disapprove of the attack made by the boats of the *Doris* on the American Schooner at Whampoa, we deemed it our duty to endeavour to palliate the circumstance; and while acknowledging it to be an error ventured to promise that his Excellency should not again have occasion to complain of a similar act of offence. The affair we were assured was adjusted, and it cannot be considered as forming a prominent feature of the present differences, and was only alluded to (as a measure not to be defended by us) when they were at a loss to reply to a grievance brought forward on our part.

We conceive the origin of this discussion must be traced to a far different source: To the interested views of a few individuals endeavouring to place the European commerce at their sole command: that in fact it had been pending some time, and would have equally rendered necessary in a year or two the measures now adopted even had we succeeded in averting them in the present season. The attempt in the preceding season to interfere with the nomination of the person appointed by the Hon'ble Court to conduct their affairs; the annual vexatious delays in our commercial intercourse on the most trivial occasions; the attempt at establishing a Cohong, for which the Imperial sanction was obtained in July, 1813; the issue of an Edict withdrawing our native attendants, and prohibiting any Chinese communicating with us; the seizure of a person supposed to be attached to our interests, and having been confidentially employed by us in a mission to Pekin; the returning our addresses unopened; the demanding that in future all our communications should be written in English, to be translated by the Hong Merchants; afford strong and concurring evidence of the real object in view.

With this outlook on the situation, it was quite natural that

Sir G. Staunton (in full harmony with his colleagues) should have placed in the front of his negotiations the question of the arrest of Ayew, whose sole offences were that he had sold his services to the English, and, a far more serious crime, that he had served as intermediary in opening direct communication with Peking. Sir G. Staunton obtained a disavowal of any such motive for the arrest, but Ayew was banished to Ili.

On the second point he obtained a concession which was 'most satisfactory'. The Committee was to be allowed to send communications to the higher officials in the Chinese language, excepting only one announcing the coming of an embassy, when it was to be accompanied by an English version.

On the question of the employment of Chinese he could obtain no satisfaction, though some assurances were offered with which the Committee professed to be content; and a few minor matters were regulated in a way which was more or less satisfactory—some more, some less.

As aftermath to this controversy the Committee obtained a copy of a mandate from the Hoppo, dated January 30, 1815, communicating an imperial decree—

I, the Emperor, have recently heard that during the 8th moon of this year (Sept. 14–Oct. 12) an English Ship of war, convoy to the merchantmen, in opposition to the existing regulations covertly entered the Bogue; and that Tseang (the Viceroy) dispatched military Officers, who took the command of war vessels which proceeded forward and drove out the said Ship. The headman of the English presented a Statement saying that their company had for some time been at enmity with the Americans; that in case of meeting with the said country's Ships it was apprehended they would plunder, and therefore convoys were provided, which led to the mistake of entering the Bogue; but they were much alarmed for what they had done; and acknowledged their crime.

The Emperor had also heard that in the competition of trade the debts due by Chinese to Europeans had very much increased of late years.

Further that there is an English Foreigner, Staunton, who, when the said nation sent tribute, accompanied the party to Pekin. He was then young and artful. . . . He is fully acquainted with the Chinese Language. According to fixed regulations, foreigners arriving at Macao are not allowed to go to Canton, but as Sung-Keun had accompanied the foreign

messenger of the said nation, Staunton, on Sung-Keun's filling the situation of Viceroy at Canton, went to Canton and paid his respects. And after Tseang arrived Staunton again went to Canton; Tseang gave a reprimand and sent him back without seeing him. Staunton having been at Canton for a long time, the English foreigners who come there are led away by him, and listen to his seducing advice. It is apprehended that in time it will occasion disturbance.

The Viceroy was ordered to report on the movements of the ships of war; if Staunton was found to be intriguing, he was to be 'removed and set down somewhere else'; and full particulars of the hong debts were to be reported.

Seven out of the ten hongs were in a critical state and were helped by the Committee through the whole of this season, as through that of 1813, with money required to pay the duties. Thus at the beginning of August, 1814, they provided a total on one day of Tls. 226,000, and in January, 1815, a total on one day of Tls. 231,480, divided among the seven for this purpose. The necessity for maintaining them was recognized by the Committee, and of course by themselves; and when the Committee were called upon to report the amount of the debts owing to them by the Hong Merchants, they refused on the ground that this publicity would endanger the stability of the merchants. The three senior merchants, however, obtained the necessary information and communicated it to the Hoppo, who was also informed that

by allowing the business of the Hongs to proceed as before there was every prospect of their debts being paid off without the necessity for any reference being made to the Government. That on the contrary, if the Hongs were removed their debts would then fall on the trade, already heavily burthened, and much injury to all parties and to the trade generally must ensue.

The Hoppo was impressed by these arguments, and the pressure on the junior merchants was relaxed. Towards the ships of war the Chinese attitude was provisionally much more gentle; on the arrival of H.M.S. *Révolutionnaire* early in April, 1815,

Puiqua stated that he was directed by the Hoppo to mention his wishes that the *Revolutionnaire* was not to remain on this station, as he was apprehensive of disturbances being caused thereby.

As a part of the settlement the American Consul, Mr. B. C. Wilcocks, on November 9th liberated 'the commander, gunner and four of the crew of the English country ship *Arabella* captured by the American privateer *Rambler* on the 24th of August last'.

On November 29th Captain Brian Hodgson of H.M.S. *Owen Glendower* 'released from his parole Mr. Nicholas Thorndike late commander of the United States privateer *Hyder Ally*', which had been captured by the *Owen Glendower*, and ordered her chief officer and four of her crew to be set at liberty. The four of the crew had, however, been distributed among the Company's ships, and were only released on an order from the Committee given on December 13th.

The Botany Bay ship *Earl Spencer* was dispatched on December 28th in advance of the first fleet, and as she was warping down river the American privateer *Jacob Jones* was seen to be unmooring. Seven of the Company's ships were at once ordered to send each its long boat to the *Wexford*, which was already at the Second Bar, to act as vedettes in watching the motions of the *Jacob Jones* and giving notice to the *Earl Spencer*. The last named cleared the islands on January 1st without any attack. The first fleet of Indiamen was dispatched on January 18th, and the second on February 7th. Of the American ships, the *Sphynx* is recorded as having sailed on January 3rd; the *Jacob Jones*, the *Rambler*, the *Ann*, and two armed schooners (the *Tamahamaha* [*sic*] and the *Russell*), all on January 18th; two, the *Salem Packet* and the *America*, on March 22, 1815; and of five the date of departure is not given. The *Ann*, *Salem Packet*, *America*, and *Beaver* had all arrived in February, 1813.

An incidental result of this season of storm was that the Chinese officials became dissatisfied with the headship of Howqua and Mowqua, the two senior Hong Merchants, and, calling Puankhequa from his retirement, compelled him to resume the headship, with the two others as his nominal colleagues. The two had proved themselves unequal to the task of checking the intrigues of Chunqua, and for this purpose the Committee welcomed the return of Puankhequa.

Statement of the Total Amount advanced to Conseequa on the Security of the Ground Rent of the new Factories in Canton, and of the annual Rent which will be paid to Conseequa when advance is repaid.

		Annual Rent. Tls.	*Advance.* Tls.
1810, March 10.	Poho Factory . . .	1,848	15,158
	Shops in Hog Lane . .		5,311
	Lunsoon Factory	950	10,627
	Armenian Factory . . .	2,160	23,184
1815, March 30.	Exchin's Factory . . .	1,152	11,520
	Three shops at back of Poho . .	380	3,802
		6,490	69,602

Cost of building and of incidentals, debited to Stock:

		Amount paid. Tls.	
1810, March 10.	Compensation to Occupants Armenian Factory	5,040	
1812, March.	Rebuilding warehouse & Library .	14,391	
1815, Feb. 5.	Building Poho and Lunsoon . .	57,751	
March 30.	Compensation occupants 3 Shops .	1,152	
			78,334
Total cost to end of March, 1815			147,936

LXXI

DIFFICULTIES OF THE HONG MERCHANTS, 1815

For the season 1815 the Select Committee was composed of Mr. J. F. Elphinstone (President), Mr. T. C. Pattle, and Sir G. T. Staunton. On the death of Mr. Pattle on November 26th, the third place was taken by Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, Bart. On Mr. Elphinstone's departure in January, 1816, Mr. Joseph Cotton was co-opted to the Committee.

The books were opened on April 4th with the following balances :

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury	847,478	
Bonds receivable	426,476	
Tea in stock, 63,704 piculs	1,529,405	
Stock of anchors and medicines	1,790	
Factory account	8,421	
Loan on factory	69,602	
Chinese merchants	250,323	
		3,133,495
Dr. to Puiqua	662,813	
Other Chinese merchants	399,805	
Bonds payable	36,000	
		1,098,618
Credit Balance		2,034,877

During the season the Company loaded twenty-four ships for London, of which six had come direct with English goods, and fifteen from Indian ports with only lead or tin from England, these being all Indiamen, chartered now generally at the uniform rate of 1,200 tons : there were in addition two from New South Wales of about 600 tons each, and one from Calcutta of 750 tons ; making a total of about 27,150 tons. Their import cargoes realized : woollens (invoiced cost f.o.b. £711,810) Tls. 1,957,900, lead (£20,922) Tls. 68,802, tin (£37,700) Tls. 91,989, iron (£11,902) Tls. 26,082, total English products Tls. 2,144,773 ; cotton Tls. 1,529,464, sandalwood Tls. 39,421, birds'-nests Tls. 1,256, total Indian produce Tls. 1,570,141 ; total on Company's own account Tls. 3,714,914.

Upon the conclusion of peace with France in 1814, the Court resumed the practice of sending silver coin to the Committee at Canton, and supplies came both from London and from Bengal. Calcutta sent 500,000 dollars, and London 889,784 oz. = 1,020,400 dollars, making a total of 1,520,400 dollars = Tls. 1,094,688; but they were expensive. Those shipped from Calcutta were invoiced at the fixed rate of 100 dollars = 206 sicca rupees; but of those sent from London the invoice cost was as follows:

per *Alnwick Castle*,	71,504 oz.	at 5*s.* 10½*d.*,	£21,529
,, *Warren Hastings*,	186,100 ,,	,, 6*s.* 11*d.*,	£64,379
,, H.M.S. *Horatio*,	632,180 ,,	,, 6*s.* 4*d.*	£200,190

These figures represented the prime cost, to which must be added, to get the laying-down cost, as shown in the invoices,

interest for 6 months . . .	2½ per cent.
insurance	4 ,, ,,
freight	1½ ,, ,,
packing and charges, about . .	½ ,, ,,
	8½ ,, ,,

or approximately a penny in the shilling.

The consignment by H.M.S. *Horatio*, invoiced at £215,470 = Tls. 646,410, produced on counting 730,009 dollars at 72 = Tls. 525,606. To the apparent loss, Tls. 120,804, must be added £1,000 = Tls. 3,000, being third-freight payable at Canton. The *Horatio's* invoice was dated July 7, 1815, twenty days after Waterloo.

In addition the treasury received specie against bills on London at 365 days after sight 326,837 dollars at 5*s.* 9*d.* and 112,820 dollars at 6*s.*; 4,323,908 dollars at 41 dollars per 100 current rupees, besides 140,000 dollars against bills issued in Manila by Sir Theophilus J. Metcalfe at 206 sicca rupees per 100 dollars; 31,883 dollars for certificates; 425,118 dollars under Indian engagements; making a total of 5,360,566 dollars; if to this be added Tls. 52,109, the fifth instalment of the debts of Gnewqua and Ponqua, we have a total received locally of Tls. 3,911,717. The transfers in the treasury amounted to 1,319,562 dollars. The investment of the season was invoiced at Tls. 6,694,108; stores were also shipped to St. Helena invoiced

at Tls. 27,741, and to the Cape of Good Hope Tls. 29,446. The comprador's account was abstracted as follows:

	Tls.
Charges on Merchandise	13,356
Charges Extraordinary	26,891
House Rent, Repairs & Furniture	6,805
House Expenses	20,490
	67,542

The principal features of the trade of Canton during the season were as follows:

	Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Woven Silks.*	*Nankeens.*
	No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
English { Company	24	126,711	303,874	282	23	2,495
English { Country	23	129,606	10,138	360	284	769
American	21	320	53,040	..	2,854	3,378
Dutch	2	520	5,131	..	..	128
Swedish	3	..	10,711	..	8	15
	73	257,157	382,894	642	3,169	6,785

Of the American ships the tonnage of eighteen amounted to 6,182 tons, an average of 343½, from which a tonnage of 7,213 may be deduced for the whole twenty-one. Of this number three had remained at Whampoa for over two years—since February, 1813; others had left in the early spring of 1815, but these waited until news came of the treaty of Ghent. Of the shipments by the English Company's ships the investment for the Company included only tea 237,528 piculs, raw silk 282 piculs, and nankeens 204,700 pieces (approximately 2,047 piculs).

Of ginseng the American ships brought 2,933 piculs, the English 23 piculs; of sandalwood the English 12,430 piculs, the American none; of sealskins, American 68,189, English 4,214; of other furs, American 46,937, English 24,896.

Of the American ships thirteen are reported to have brought 1,214,220 dollars in specie, one Dutch 92,000 dollars, and two Swedish 107,700 dollars. By the Swedish ships came a Consul for Sweden, Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, who remained at Macao from season to season.

On the death of Mr. Pattle, by order of the Court of Directors Sir Theophilus J. Metcalfe succeeded to the vacancy in the

Select Committee; but he was absent, having been sent to Manila and Calcutta in the early spring of 1815, and only returned to Canton on May 30, 1816, when he took his seat. On Mr. Elphinstone's departure, Mr. Cotton was co-opted to the third place. Mr. Robarts and Mr. Toone returned, and Mr. J. F. Daniell arrived to join the staff. In December, 1815, Mr. Moloney went to Bengal, and Mr. Millett and Mr. Plowden to St. Helena and if necessary to England, for the benefit of their health; in January Mr. Urmston went to the Cape of Good Hope or St. Helena for the same reason.

The members of the staff below supercargo, paid not by commission but a fixed salary, had been paid customarily by draft on London at 365 days and the Company's fixed rate of 5*s.* per dollar. With the usual rate at 6*s.* this was felt to be a hardship, and they were paid for the second time in specie, receiving the following sums:

	Dollars.
Mr. Plowden, writer of above 8 years' standing	4,364
Mr. Millett, ,, ,, 5 ,, ,,	2,909
Mr. Bannerman, ,, ,, 3 ,, ,,	1,250
Mr. Marjoribanks, ,, ,, 3 ,, ,,	1,250
Mr. Davis, ,, ,, 2 ,, ,,	833
Mr. Daniell, ,, ,, 1 ,, ,,	417
Mr. Pearson, Surgeon	5,000
Mr. Livingstone, ,,	4,167
Mr. Morrison, Chinese Interpreter	4,167
Mr. Reeves, Tea Inspector	2,917

Mr. Ball, the senior Tea Inspector, is not included in this list. It may be observed that, e. g., Mr. Livingstone, with a salary of £1,000, was paid 4,167 dollars, with which he was at liberty to buy a draft on London at 365 days' sight for £1,250; but that, on the other hand, if he had been paid by a draft for £1,000, he could have realized in Canton no more than 3,333 dollars, for that was the Committee's rate for the year, 6*s.* per dollar. The bills issued at 5*s.* 9*d.* were for transfers in the treasury granted at the request of the Hong Merchants.

The first news of the treaty of Ghent between Great Britain and America was received at Bombay from Bagdad on May 4th, and at Canton on July 2nd. On January 14, 1816, H.M. frigate *Horatio*, which brought advices to July 7th, brought also the news of the 'decisive victory at Waterloo, the occupation of

Paris by the Allies and the expected speedy restoration of Peace in Europe'. On July 3rd, at Macao,

Arrived the *Trader*, American Schooner from Philadelphia. We learn that the American Brig *Macedonian*, of 20 guns and 407 tons, from New York, passed up the river.

They also confirmed the news of the peace with America, and within three months there were a score of small American craft in the river, besides the Dutch and Swedish. In addition to the million and a quarter dollars in specie brought by thirteen of the Americans, the Committee record on September 5th that

we understand that several American Vessels have arrived or may be expected with Letters of Credit or Bills upon respectable houses in London.

Portuguese ships also brought bills on London, and at the same time the Dutch and Swedes offered bills at 6*s*. per dollar and 6 months; and to place any London bills other than those taken for transfer, the English Committee were compelled to offer bills at 6*s*. and 12 months. In this way they obtained a mere lakh in cash and 3 lakhs in transfers, a total of 439,657 dollars, and for the greater part of their needs they drew on Bengal. For these bills they were compelled to offer the same terms as in the previous season, 41 and 30 days, for two reasons, the competition of sycee and the depressed state of the opium market.

The price of Sycee Silver is at present very low, being as we understand to be purchased at 7 & 8 per Cent discount. As the purity of Sycee Silver is considered to be generally 8 per Cent better than Dollars, there is in fact a difference of 15 or 16 ℔ Cent between Sycee Silver and Dollars, when purchased at Canton and carried for Sale to Calcutta, affording a remittance equal to about 38 Dollars ℔ 100 Currant Rupees.

The effect of increased vigilance on the opium market will be dealt with below; it is now only necessary to note that, from the sale of English and Indian produce, from the proceeds of bills, and (towards the end of the season) from the importation of dollars, the funds required for the investment were obtained. The demand for woollens from the North had fallen off; and, while the third quality of broadcloth, or worsters, remained unchanged at Tls. 1·10 per yard, and the second quality, or supers, at Tls. 1·60, the Committee found themselves forced to

reduce the price of superfines from Tls. 2·60 to Tls. 2·40. This was in October, but by the end of January,

> The aid received to our finances by the late importations of Bullion enables us to dispense with the forced sale for Cash of any of our remaining consignments of the season.

For the camlets and superior Long Ells, which were settled towards the end of the season, they obtained the same prices as in the previous season; but the Hong Merchants equalized matters by raising their prices for tea, the winter purchases in February, 1816, for stock for the coming season being uniformly, character for character, at one tael a picul higher than in 1814.

The Court attempted to revive the House of Agency, 'under the Superintendence and Control of the Select Committee', and its management was, by the Court's instructions, first offered to Messrs. Molony and Robarts. They declined for the reasons that the merchants of India would not entrust their affairs to an official House of Agency; that the advances of capital which would at times be required introduced too great an element of risk; and that the work would entail the spending of the hot months of summer at Canton instead of with their colleagues at Macao. It was then offered to each of the other supercargoes below the Committee—Messrs. Cotton, Urmston, Fraser, and Toone—and to the senior writer, Mr. Plowden, and was declined by each. The writers—Messrs. Millett, Bannerman, Marjoribanks, Davis, and Daniell—were then asked to declare if, at some future date, they would be willing to undertake it, and each returned an answer in the negative.

Natives of India had begun again to stay in China after the departure of the country ships, and the Committee, on October 14th,

> determined to make public the usual Notice ordering all persons belonging to the several Presidencies in India, to leave China at the end of the Season.

They, as well as the English merchants in India, having had the trade of India thrown open to them, were restive under the restraints and control imposed on their operations in China. When the shipping was relieved from the embargo placed on it in the season 1814, the commanders of the country ships yielded

only a reluctant acquiescence to the orders of the Committee, given for the general good; and their principals in India protested vigorously against those orders. A memorial from the merchants of Bombay—six English and fifteen native firms—addressed on May 15, 1815, to the newly created 'Lords Commissioners for the Affairs of India', declared that the trade to and from China was of great importance to themselves, to the port of Bombay, and to the whole of that side of India; that

for the successful prosecution of this Trade it is indispensably necessary that those concerned in it should not be subject to such interference or impediment as is calculated not only to diminish its advantage, but which in its exercise brings inevitable ruin upon the Individuals engaged in it;

that they had to complain of such impediments imposed in the season 1813 by the agents of the Company at Canton; that new causes of dispute had risen in the next season, that of 1814; and that a similar suspension of the trade was always liable to be resorted to and the trade of the memorialists ruined by the action of the Select Committee; and they prayed that measures might be adopted which would give protection, without which their trade must fall into irretrievable and early decay.

The Committee also found occasion to call the attention of the Bengal Government to

certain Statements which have been permitted to appear in the public prints published at that Presidency (the Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette of 20th April 1815) in which the proceedings of our Committee in the late discussions with the Chinese Govt. are represented in a very inaccurate and unfounded manner, and as reflecting on the H. Company's Servants, it tends to throw discredit on the measures they were compelled to adopt to preserve the interests of the British Trade to China, and may have the effect on any future occasion of exposing them to greater difficulties and an increased opposition and counteraction.

The article then hinted at a prospect of renewal of the disputes, which the Committee thought could only refer to the attack on Sir G. T. Staunton, and considered 'highly indecorous and improper'. On the general question they asserted that

the persons having adventures to China may be disposed to cavil at any interruption or delay, without adverting to the expediency or necessity of the measure: when to this is added the circumstance of an unfavourable market for their Cotton, as in the last season, their com-

plaints may be expected to be augmented. . . . It must be remembered that the contest was to preserve the interests of these persons equally with those of the Hon'ble Company; and the advantages of this general resistance are evident from the alacrity with which the Chinese Govt. endeavoured to avail themselves of the disaffection and impatience of control that they had ascertained existed not only in many belonging to the Country Ships but among the H. Company's Officers. Officers of the Chinese Govt. were despatched to the ships to invite them to disregard the orders of the Captains of H.M. Ships and the Committee and proceed to Whampoa: and we may assert that the termination of the discussion was not a little retarded by this highly reprehensible and unthinking conduct.

From this time the Company was forced to combat, not only the rapacity of the Chinese officials, but also the adventurous spirit of independence of the private English and Indian merchants, impatient of the imposition in China of the restraints which it was not now lawful to impose in India.

In their relations with the Chinese officials, the Committee had a comparatively quiet season between two of storm; but even so Mr. Elphinstone at first, and afterwards Sir George Staunton, had to intervene constantly to protect the interests of the Company. As in the previous season, one of those interests was the support of the junior and weaker Hong Merchants. In April, 1815, the seven junior Merchants applied to the Committee before they left Canton for help with cash with which to pay duties, and obtained Tls. 85,400; and this continued throughout the season, in conformity with the policy of the Committee to uphold the Hong Merchants and prevent their being forced into bankruptcy. But this was not the principal difficulty under which the merchants laboured. An anonymous informant had supplied one of the censors with figures, on which he based a memorial to the throne denouncing the merchants as being insolvent, and the Viceroy was ordered to inquire into the matter. There was no question of the solvency of Howqua, Mowqua, Puankhequa, or Chunqua; but the other seven of the Hong Merchants were called on for a statement, and they gave one with very satisfactory figures. Howqua, in May, asked the Committee to certify these figures as correct, but they refused to sign any written document in which the amount of the debts owing to them was specified. The amounts declared

by the merchants to be owing by them to foreign creditors, with the extension of time asked for, were as follows:

	Tls.	
Manhop	338,930	(6 years)
Pakqua (Exchin)	295,194	(6 ,,)
Conseequa	228,905	(4 ,,)
Goqua	91,988	(3 ,,)
Poonequa	88,931	(3 ,,)
Fatqua	11,041	(1 year)
Kinqua	6,962	(end of current season)

They further declared that in three years, Kiaking 17th to 19th, they had paid Tls. 1,304,795, and that the amount they owed was now reduced to Tls. 1,061,925. The Committee persisted in their refusal to give their endorsement to these figures, which were so favourable to the debtor merchants; the reason why they were so readily accepted by Viceroy and Hoppo may perhaps be found in the influences brought to bear on the subordinate officials.

June 7. Puankhequa informed Mr. Plowden [then at Canton] that the Viceroy was very favorably disposed to settle the question in the desired manner, when some evil intentioned person communicated to the Viceroy that the Merchants had subscribed 100,000 Tales for the purpose of bribing the Officers of Government throwing much suspicion on the Namhai heen and the Quan Choo foo—that this statement had irritated His Exc'y exceedingly and had put a stop to the arrangement taking place. . . . Altho' there is scarcely any affair that can be arranged in China without the good wishes of the Officer under whose authority the affair may be being previously purchased, still a certain form and shew of justice must be exhibited; and the bribe is neither received openly or avowedly, but is generally arranged thro' the medium of some third person. The Viceroy is stated to be extremely tenacious of these external marks of Purity, altho' it is currently said that he obtains considerable sums.

It was at about the same date that, on June 17th,

the Hoppo has directed the Hong Merchants to employ but three Shroff houses which are to have the exclusive right and privilege of furnishing the Sycee Silver in which the duties are paid. . . . The Hong Merchants are making all the opposition in their power . . . it is said about 66,000 Tales will be required to procure the Hoppo's dispensation with the new regulations; some payments made by the Merchants on account of their duties were sent to the Hoppo's house but not coming from the Shroffs he had nominated were returned.

There were also some attacks on the privileges and immunities of foreigners. On one occasion police officers entered the rooms in the so-called Danish Factory occupied for their private trade by two of the Company's commanders, and arrested six Chinese employed in the factory. This was regarded by the Committee and by the Hong Merchants as an infraction of the privileges of the port, and the Namhoi Hien gave redress when the matter was brought to his notice. In October some 60,000 dollars collected at Macao by Mr. Livingstone and sent to Chuenpi by the cruiser *Investigator* were in process of transmission by ships' boats from Chuenpi to Canton, when the boats carrying the specie were fired on by the war junks stationed at the Bogue, and were compelled to return to the cruiser. This was said to have been done in conformity with the orders of the Viceroy; but when the matter was brought to his notice, he assured the Hong Merchants that it would not occur again.

On the last day of the year 1815 another form of extortion was brought to the notice of the Committee:

> The Compradores who supply the Ships have informed us that they have lately been much molested by some of the Govt. Officers, particularly by a military officer who has the charge of some Police boats at or near Whampoa. This person it appears is desirous of extorting a fee of 100 Dollars per Ship, to obtain which he makes objections to the Compradores proceeding to the Ships.

The Committee wrote a letter of complaint to the Viceroy and Hoppo. The stoppage still continued, however, and the letter was brought back to the factory; and on January 3rd it was handed to

> Captain Hughes and by him accompanied by several Commanders delivered at the City Gate to an Officer of Govt.

The letter, unopened, was the next day brought to the factory by the senior Hong Merchants, in contravention of the concordat of the previous season; but they brought a verbal message from the Viceroy that the matter would be dealt with by the Hoppo. The two officers who had attempted the extortion were summoned to Canton, and the compradors resumed their functions.

The comprador (purveyor), Ah Ming of Macao, who regularly supplied H.M. ships while at Chuenpi, was in June the subject

of a hostile report to the Viceroy from the Künming Fu, who thereby hoped to have him and the other compradors of Macao at his mercy. The Viceroy ordered the Künming Fu to report on the charge that 'Aming is combined with and eggs on the English to intercept the Americans'; but the original report was sent by one Künming Fu, and the order was sent to his successor; and thereby Ah Ming escaped the more easily.

The compradors (cashiers) attached to the factory in Canton expressed in September their wish to retire, but were induced by Mr. Elphinstone to remain. In February, 1816, they again announced their intention, giving as their reason that the construction of the new factory was not placed under their supervision, but had been entrusted to an American contractor, Mr. Megee (or Magee). Sir George Staunton had now no option, and accepted the resignation while expressing his deep regret. A few days later he records his great satisfaction with Mr. Megee's work; and, while for the season 1814 the Committee had paid him 2,500 dollars for his services, he now received 3,000 dollars on the completion of the work.

In the spring of 1815 several Chinese dealers in opium at Macao had been arrested, and thereby a ball had been set rolling, which the officials now found it difficult to arrest. As the result of the preliminary inquiries, the report sent by the Viceroy in his memorial to the throne was to the following effect:

That the men arrested had heretofore been correct, but having sold some Tea and Cloth to a Portuguese named Antony and whose funds were deficient, which induced him to get under way without paying for the Tea and Cloth. They followed him out to the Roads and at the moment of their coming alongside a Portuguese Ship whose master's name is not known, hove in sight, and Antony applied to him for a loan of money. This unknown Gentleman said he had no ready money but he had some Opium; he would lend him that if he chose. Antony accepted it, and transferred it to the Chinese Merchants in payment for their Teas. They having got the Opium, were afraid to bring it on Shore (there being at all times such a sharp look out kept by the Hoppo) and therefore continued to sell it to people, of whose names they know nothing, who happened to be passing and repassing in Boats. Though these merchants were thus innocent, yet they should have known better, and they are condemned, in conformity with the Imperial Orders in case of persons selling Opium, to wear the Cangue for one month. Antony has returned to his own country and cannot be caught; but

his King shall be informed of his turpitude, and the various Taipans at Macao shall have a threatening Edict sent to them, to prevent them bringing any more Opium.

On May 2nd the country ship *Catharine* arrived at Whampoa from Bengal; and on the 25th, on information that opium had been transhipped from her to the American schooner *Lydia*, the Viceroy sent a military officer to search the schooner. As was customary, the owner of the *Lydia*, Mr. I. S. Wilcocks, received an early intimation of this order, and was on board in time to receive the officer and protest. The officer persisted, and was then met by the American Consul, Mr. B. C. Wilcocks, who was also on board and who sealed the hatches with the consular seal; on this the officer ordered the schooner to be moved up to Canton. Upon this 'Mr. Wilcocks' consented to open the hatches; the uppermost packages, some of which were opened by 'Mr. Wilcocks', contained tea, sugar, and rice,

the Opium having been placed below and out of sight. The Mandarines professed themselves quite satisfied and retired.

When, on June 8th, the *Lydia* from Whampoa arrived at Macao and went into the Inner Harbour, she was boarded by the Künming Fu, who offered his protection against the British cruisers.

It is probable this officer went on board with the intention of seizing the vessel, had she any Opium . . . finding his suspicion groundless the vessel is not molested.

The Viceroy continued to issue orders against opium, and sales both at Macao and at Whampoa were effected with much caution and for small quantities only; and he enacted new regulations to control the trade, in which he referred specifically to

Macao under the jurisdiction of the Heang-shan Hien [which] is lent to the Portuguese. Hitherto the Portuguese Ships have sailed to foreign ports and returned to Macao without examination. They landed their goods at Macao and stored them; and at the time of sale the examination was made and duties received. The difficulty of preventing clandestine importation in violation of the regulations was great. In future when Portuguese Ships enter Macao they shall report their cargoes to the Hoppo in order that they may be examined. This method will cut off the possibility of evading the prohibition of Opium.

Then followed rules for the punishment of those who accepted

bribes and rewards for those who seized the contraband drug; and ships bringing opium were to be expelled and forbidden to trade—'if all the Vessels bring Opium, all the Cargoes of all the Vessels shall be interdicted; they shall not be allowed to trade'. This intimation that Portuguese ships were to be searched on arrival led the Committee to expect that the same rule would apply to British vessels, thus reversing the practice of a hundred years. Experience had shown that the underlings, hangers-on of Chinese Government offices, could not safely be given the run of a ship, and it had been held that the act of smuggling began with the act of landing; and in consequence search had never been permitted on the Company's ships, which, moreover, did not carry opium. Orders were accordingly issued to the commanders of the Company's ships, as they came in, that, if search were threatened, it was to be resisted; and, 'should the commanders of the Company's ships be applied to by the Country Ships, they will be directed to afford assistance and protection.'

Under the influence of this Chinese attack on the trade, it was seriously affected and the sales fell off. Sales were also affected by the competition of Turkey opium in American ships which the restoration of peace allowed to be brought out.

> We have further to remark that the change which has taken place lately in our relations with America is probable to have the effect of lowering the price of Opium in China. At the present [July, 1815] high prices great encouragement is given to the importation of Turkey Opium in American Ships; and altho' this Opium is not held in such estimation by the Chinese as that produced in India, still the importation of any quantity of Turkey Opium cannot fail to have a material effect on the price in the China market.

A further competitor was found in Malwa opium, which in May, 1815, was reported by the agent in Goa to have been shipped to the extent of 69 chests from Goa to Macao. Previously, in the season 1804, the authorities of Macao had reported to the English Committee a similar consignment of Malwa opium from Goa;[1] and, as this interfered with the profits of the Portuguese in Macao and of the English Company in India, the Committee was requested to refer the matter to Calcutta. On the present occasion the English at Calcutta asked that the Committee

[1] Cf. vol. ii, p. 429.

should move the Portuguese at Macao to intervene and check this trade in opium which had paid no taxes to the Company; but the Committee considered that this step was inadvisable.

Under these triple blows the holders of opium in Macao found it impossible to sell their holdings except at heavy loss; for the action of the Committee in granting bills on credit, to be paid for from the proceeds of sale of the opium, had resulted in maintaining prices in Macao, and therefore in Calcutta. In November, 1814, Mr. Thomas Beale had obtained bills on Bengal for 800,000 dollars on the security of opium in warehouse.[1] This was all to be paid in during the spring of 1815, but on September 1st he had paid, including interest, only 420,000 dollars, and was compelled to ask for further time, sending the Committee at the same time, as security, warehouse receipts endorsed in blank for 340 chests of opium stored in the godowns of seven proprietors. He now undertook to pay in full by the end of January, 1816; but on January 1st his account showed a balance due, including interest to that date, of 402,485 dollars. On January 8th he absconded and went into hiding. The Committee then wrote to the Governor of Macao, to the American Consul, and to the commodore of the Company's fleet, with the purpose of heading him off. The Committee (Mr. Elphinstone and Sir G. Staunton) went to Macao on the 15th, and ascertained that five of the seven custodians of the opium which had been pledged 'on one pretext or another have refused to acknowledge their responsibility in any manner whatever'. Mr. Elphinstone left for England on the 19th. Sir G. Staunton records on the 21st that 150,000 dollars were fully secured and had been assigned by the other creditors as a first payment to the Company, being payable on October 19th, 1816. On January 29th the winding-up of Mr. Beale's estate was entrusted to a committee, of whom one should be nominated by the Company.

Writing to the Secret Committee on January 10th, before Mr. Elphinstone's departure, the Select Committee had occasion to give their grounds for believing that the Portuguese did not have the sovereignty in Macao. The English Company had arranged to buy from Sr. D'Almeida a house additional to those occupied by its factors, and the Dezembargador Senhor Arriaga

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 208.

Brum de Silveira had interposed his veto to forbid the sale, and, in support of his action, had transmitted certain documents denunciatory of the English to the Prince Regent at Rio de Janeiro, who had sent them to the Court of Directors.

As to the Documents Senhor Arriaga has transmitted to prove how much the presence of the English embarrasses his Government, they appear to be equally undeserving attention. The Chinese Government have not appeared of late even to acknowledge that the Portuguese have any peculiar rights or privileges. In the instance where the Macao Government thought proper to order in the most official and formal manner the gentleman of the Dutch Factory to quit Macao they applied to the Mandarin of the District who immediately directed the Dutch Factory to remain unmolested as before and accordingly they have since as before lived at Macao.

The Chinese have seized on occasions the persons of Portuguese subjects in Macao and have also seized and detained Portuguese Boats although furnished with papers from the Portuguese Custom house.

Puiqua (Howqua) continued by order of the Hoppo to act as senior Hong Merchant, with Mowqua second, and Puankhequa in the third place. In his relations with the Committee, also, Puankhequa was very modest, contenting himself with two shares out of twenty-three. Chunqua also received two shares: less they could not give him if he was to continue to have a share of the business, and more they would not give in view of his past conduct.

Progress was made with the Chinese dictionary prepared by Mr. Morrison. From month to month there is an entry in the records—'Mr. Thoms for the press, Dollars 500'. In August the attention of the Government was drawn to the shop in which were cut the metal types for the Chinese characters, and the workmen were arrested; but the matter was arranged 'by the application of a douceur to the clerks in the office'. On January 17, 1816, it is recorded that 'the first number of Mr. Morrison's Dictionary of the Chinese Language having been completed', 600 copies were sent to London—100 for the Company and 500 for Mr. Morrison. On January 23rd advice was received from the Government General at Calcutta that 500 copies of Mr. Morrison's Chinese Grammar had been printed by the College of Fort William, and that Dr. Marshman and Dr. Carey requested to have four copies, for which they were willing to pay.

The linguist Ayew, although he had been absolved by the Viceroy of the guilt of complicity with the foreigners, yet did not escape punishment. He was transported to Kansu, and started on his journey in June, 1815, under the personal escort of an officer. He was expected to pay the expenses of the officer on the way, which were to amount to 1,800 dollars, and this the Committee paid. The Committee, conjointly with the Hong Merchants, also provided for his maintenance in Kansu and for the support of his family in Canton—the total amount falling on the Committee in this year being 5,000 dollars.

Under date of April 26, 1815, when the capture of the *Hunter* and the attempted cutting out of the *Sphynx* had probably been reported in London, but not the recapture of the *Arabella*, the Secretary to the Admiralty sent the following instructions to Rear-Admiral Sir George Burlton, Commander-in-Chief:

> That you give positive instructions to His Majesty's Cruizers in the China Seas to abstain from any acts which may afford just cause of complaint to the Chinese Government. Their Lordships do not apprehend that the interests of this country will be best maintained in any foreign state by submission or concessions unbecoming the British character, but it is not less important especially in a case where the commerce and revenue are so deeply interested that we should by all means avoid any violation of the Laws or encroachment on the rights of neutral nations and their Lordships will not fail to mark with their highest displeasure any deviation from these principles by any of his Majesty's Naval Officers.

Admiral Burlton died before these instructions arrived in India, and the task of sending a certified copy to the Canton Committee devolved on the senior officer, Captain and Commodore Robert O'Brien, who had been the active agent in all three of the episodes in 1814 referred to above.

LXXII

THE SEARCH FOR OPIUM, 1816

For the season 1816 the Select Committee was composed of Sir George T. Staunton (President), Sir Theophilus J. Metcalfe, Mr. Joseph Cotton, and Mr. James Brabazon Urmston. On the arrival of Lord Amherst, Sir G. T. Staunton joined the Embassy and Sir T. J. Metcalfe became acting President of the Committee. Mr. Urmston arrived and took his seat on September 9th. On Sir G. T. Staunton's departure for England in January, Mr. James Molony joined the Committee.

The books were opened on February 22nd with the following balances :

		Tls.	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in the treasury			1,256,901	
Bonds receivable			289,789	
Loan on Factories			69,602	
Factory account			34,478	
Anchors and medicines in stock			1,951	
Tea in stock, 19,237 piculs			440,032	
Ponqua and Gnewqua			337,095	
Owing by junior merchants			409,072	
				2,838,920
Dr. to Bonds payable			76,110	
Chinese merchants :	Puiqua	215,717		
	Mowqua	138		
	Puankhequa	63,467		
	Chunqua	34,461		
	Kinqua	6,851		
			320,634	
				396,744
Credit Balance				2,442,176

During the season the Company loaded twenty-eight ships for London : twenty-eight arrived, one was burned with her import cargo still on board, and one country ship was taken up locally to replace her. The imports realized : woollens (invoiced f.o.b. at £892,732) Tls. 2,323,375, tin (£22,692) Tls. 67,400, lead (£22,742) Tls. 92,290, iron (£11,551) Tls. 37,280, total English products Tls. 2,520,345 ; Indian produce (cotton, invoiced

f.o.b. at 1,868,918 Bombay rupees plus 93,976 star pagodas) Tls. 1,007,984; total Company's imports Tls. 3,528,329. To this must be added 9,595 dollars = Tls. 6,908 received from sale of the cargo of the ship *Elphinstone*, burned in port; this cargo had been invoiced f.o.b. at: lead £2,150, insured from London at 4 per cent.; cotton 29,034 star pagodas insured from Madras at 2 per cent.

No less than 3,557,088 dollars = Tls. 2,561,103 was received in specie from London. In addition there were received into the treasury 200,000 dollars for bills drawn in London on the Philippines Company's agents in Canton; 341,582 dollars for bills on London at 5*s.* 2*d.* and 365 days; 1,105,479 dollars for bills on Bengal at 208 sicca rupees per 100 dollars; 200 dollars on certificates; 304,642 dollars under Indian engagements (for cotton sold by the Company in Bombay to be paid for in Canton); making a total of 1,951,903 dollars. If to this be added Tls. 63,434, the sixth dividend of the Company's claim on the estates of Ponqua and Gnewqua, we have a total of Tls. 1,468,804. The investment by 28 ships was invoiced at Tls. 6,361,625. In addition stores were shipped to St. Helena invoiced at a prime cost of Tls. 29,798, and to the Cape of Good Hope at Tls. 34,725. The expenses of the Amherst Embassy at Canton, defrayed by the Committee, amounted to Tls. 7,234. The comprador's accounts were abstracted as follows:

	Tls.
Charges on Merchandise	13,910
Charges Extraordinary	30,148
House Rent, Repairs, and Furniture	9,768
House expenses	20,346
	74,172

For ships under the British flag the main features are as follows:

	Ships.	*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Woven Silks.*	*Nankeens.*
	No.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
Company	28	130,163	274,914	659	332	2,804
Country	39	333,704	2,177	..	95	1,606
	67	463,867	277,091	659	427	4,410

The records contain no particulars of the trade under other flags;

but the American Customs give the following value of shipments from U.S. ports to China in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1816:

	Dollars.
Merchandise	605,000
Specie	1,922,000
Total	2,527,000

The arrival of 17 American, 1 Danish, and 2 Dutch ships is recorded, but no particulars of their cargoes, inwards or outwards. One of the American vessels had sailed for New York in 1815, and returned in 290 days for the round trip:

July 14. Arrived . . . the *Macedonian* brig from America which Vessel has performed a remarkable quick voyage having sailed from China the 28th of last September.

Of the exports by the English Company's ships, the quantities invoiced as constituting the Company's investment were—tea 220,154 piculs, raw silk 506 piculs, nankeens 227,000 pieces.

For the season 1816 the contracts for tea were made in the following quantities, the quantities for 1817 being added for convenience; the distribution of the woollens (broadcloth and Long Ells) being the same in the two seasons:

	Woollens.	*Teas.*	
		1816.	*1817.*
	Shares.	Chests.	Chests.
Puiqua	3	35,600	26,600
Mowqua	3	30,600	22,100
Puankhequa	3	35,600	26,600
Chunqua	2	24,500	20,000
Conseequa	3	31,100	22,100
Exchin	2	20,000	15,500
Manhop	2	20,000	15,500
Poonequa	2	20,500	15,500
Goquá	2	20,000	17,000
Kinqua	1	12,100	9,600
Fatqua	1	12,100	10,100
Coqua	..	3,600	..
	24	265,700	200,600

Coqua was brother of Puankhequa and was not a Hong Merchant, doing his business under cloak of his brother. In making the contracts for 1816 in March the Committee paid advances to the amount of 883,250 dollars, and on the arrival of a supply of

specie from London in June they made further advances of 1,088,311 dollars. These advances were required to enable the merchants to contract with the inland dealers in tea, and were additional to the sums demanded to put the junior merchants in a position to pay cash for their duties, for which the Committee advanced 504,000 dollars. The Court had in these two seasons, 1815 and 1816, supplied the Committee with sufficient specie for this purpose, but during the war Howqua had acted as banker, and had advanced the money for the purpose—Tls. 231,480 in 1813 and Tls. 178,000 in 1814, amounting with interest to March 6, 1816, to a total of Tls. 470,393—which the Committee guaranteed. Howqua in fact was temporarily acting as local banker for the Committee. On the eve of their departure for Macao, on March 16, 1816,

> The Balance of Cash in our Treasury is Dollars 255,750, of this sum Dllrs 23,131 being retained for contingent expenses at Macao the remainder of Dllrs 232,619 is this day packed & sealed with the Company's Seal and deposited under the charge of Puiqua.

During the stay of the Committee at Macao payments to the junior merchants were made by orders on Puiqua to take the money out of the Company's funds; on May 15th Conseequa 'paid to Puiqua on account of the Hon'ble Company 90,000 Dlls in part payment for Camlets'; and on June 9th Sir T. Metcalfe at Canton reported that the available funds in the hands of Puiqua, together with 76,000 dollars due for camlets from Conseequa, amounted to 378,000 dollars, and that he (Sir T. Metcalfe) had received

> the remainder of the treasure consigned by H.M.S. *Orlando* and H.C.S. *Thomas Grenville* being chests 190. At Howqua's request lodged in the Treasury 46 chests received from the latter ship, which it is understood is the proceeds of some speculations to America.

The relations between him and the Committee were peculiar. He held nearly 4 lakhs of dollars in safe custody for the Committee; they held 46 chests (possibly 150,000 dollars) in safe custody for him; and at the opening of the season he owed them 3 lakhs of dollars on current account. The junior merchants were strengthening their position, which in the previous season had been seriously attacked; and this attack had been repulsed, but at a cost:

Mar. 13. Exchin, Poonequa, Goqua, Kinqua and Fatqua waited on the President to solicit the aid of the Committee to enable the seven junior Hongs to discharge the amount of one hundred thousand Tales, for which Puiqua stands pledged to the Hoppo, as the price of His Excellency's Interference in procuring the Edict in their favour from the Emperor, upon which the future existence of their Hongs depended. This transaction was necessarily one of the most secret and confidential nature. . . . The late Committee, much as they regretted the additional burthen imposed on the Junior Merchants, considered the object in view of such primary importance, and the danger of the failure of the Hongs so imminent, that they felt it their duty to give their sanction without hesitation to the proposed arrangement.

The five merchants spoke also on behalf of Conseequa and Manhop, who did not come with them, but who were

equally concerned and benefitted as the rest of their known Brethren, though the Secret of the Engagement on their behalf by Puiqua with the Hoppo has not yet been imparted to them.

The Committee agreed to adopt the proposal, which was that Howqua should give the money; that the Committee should guarantee its repayment, and in the meantime should debit each of the seven merchants' accounts with an amount in proportion to their thirteen shares in the woollens; and that, to reward Howqua for his altruistic conduct, he should have a supplementary contract for 4,500 chests of Congou tea. The help given to the junior merchants was continued through the season. Thus in October Exchin begged the Committee to give him bills on Bengal to enable him to buy a cargo of cotton from Messrs. Shank & Magniac, the money for them being payable 'about the New Year'—in about three months.

It is contrary to our prescribed rule of conduct to grant such favours in general, but the peculiar situation of the Junior Merchants does call for some attention and the enabling them to compete with Puiqua and the Seniors in the Cotton market is of service in disposing of our own Consignments . . . it gives him besides some respectability in the eyes of his own Countrymen and assists the Trade of India. . . . The apparent determination of Manhop to swell the Debit side of his account to the utmost, and his evident resolution not to give such Teas as by their profit would afford a respectable Dividend towards the payment of his Debts, are most glaring, and we feel confident that nothing but our marked displeasure will ever bring this Merchant to a sense of Duty and Justice.

In February, 1817, the Hoppo issued a mandate inquiring into the state of indebtedness of Fatqua and Kinqua, and the Committee were asked if they were clear of debt to the Company. About Kinqua they could answer; but Fatqua owed them money, and if they absolved him, they might prejudice their rights in making a future claim; so they refused to make any answer. The affairs of the other five of the seven junior merchants had been nursed through five years, from the season 1813, the liquidation of their debts being placed in the hands of a committee of the creditors, on which Mr. Molony represented the Company; and the aid given by the Select Committee consisted in throwing business in their way, and in granting advances to the merchants in the shape of bills on Bengal or London, transferred to the committee of the creditors. The calculation made on March 17, 1817, in the case of Conseequa will serve as model for all the five:

Conseequa.

	Tls.	Tls.
Balance due to the Company, including 5 Chops of Winter Tea		220,672
From which is to be deducted the value of		
Broadcloth payable in this moon	15,311	
Worleys payable in the 4th moon	35,600	
Camlets payable as realised	177,348	
		228,259
Balance in his favor		7,587
To this may be added 7 Chops of Winter Teas which will be delivered and on which advance with interest has been debited to him		21,000
		28,587
The State of this Merchant's transactions will warrant an advance of		79,413
Making a Payment to Private Creditors of or Dollars 150,000.		108,000

In the five years the liquidation of debt had progressed to the extent shown in the following table:

	Original Debt. Dollars.	*Repayments.* *1812–15.* Dollars.	*1816.* Dollars.	*Total.* Dollars.	*Outstanding. March 1817.* Dollars.
Conseequa	822,906	339,780	150,000	489,780	333,126
Exchin	820,610	382,731	72,000	454,731	365,879
Manhop	1,237,681	361,213	75,000	436,213	801,468
Poonequa	741,147	482,956	50,000	532,956	208,191
Goqua	341,953	189,876	113,000	302,876	39,077
Total	3,964,297	1,756,556	460,000	2,216,556	1,747,741

Goqua had done so well that the Select Committee resolved to advance to him the remaining Tls. 39,077 of his debts, and so to make the Company his sole creditor.

The debt of Mr. Thomas Beale to the Company must be found in 'Bonds receivable'. In April Mr. Vasconcellos paid in 20,000 dollars and gave his promissory note for 25,000 dollars payable in August, and had his acknowledgement for 30 chests of opium returned to him, as it was understood that this sum of 45,000 dollars would form part of the 150,000 dollars guaranteed to be paid to the Company in October. These 30 chests formed part of 100 chests, valued at 150,000 dollars, of which the Committee held the acknowledgements, which were supposed to be good, but not immediately realizable. They also held acknowledgements for a further 220 chests, valued at 330,000 dollars, on which they could not realize except by a recourse to law. In June they were warned that the assignment to them by Mr. Beale would be resisted, and on June 30th the nominees of the creditors wrote:

> The greatest part of his assets are involved in accounts with the Judge of this City [Macao] Senhor Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, with whom he appears to have been engaged both in Opium speculations and in shipments of Goods to the Brazils and other places. The Judge by the regulations of his Government is forbidden to trade in any way; and Foreigners such as Mr. Beale cannot by the Portuguese Laws enter into the trade carried on between this Port and the Brazils, or any port in Europe; consequently these transactions being illicit, the property involved in them becomes liable to confiscation. Further a suspicion exists that the Judge has misapplied the orphan and other charitable funds officially entrusted to his management, and therefore if an investigation into his conduct is by any means brought about, previous to our extricating from his hands such part of Mr. Beale's property as we know still exists, it is most probable that if not confiscated it would in the first instance be held liable for his debts to the Public Institutions, which it is our belief there would be no other funds forthcoming to repay.

It was estimated that, on a balancing of accounts, the Judge, Sr. Arriaga, would owe to Mr. Beale a sum of upwards of a million dollars, of the payment of which the nominees of the creditors confessed themselves utterly hopeless; and at the end of August they informed the Select Committee that there was no longer any reason for delay in taking legal steps to secure their rights. The

amount due to the Company was 402,485 dollars, of which 150,000 were well secured, leaving 252,485 to be covered by the collateral. Sir T. Metcalfe had much difficulty in finding any Portuguese lawyer bold enough to give advice in a case against the Judge of Macao, who also filled the posts of Customs Master and Public Treasurer; and, when found, his adviser informed him that it would be hopeless to expect a favorable decision in a suit brought in Macao, and that an appeal to Rio de Janeiro had little more chance of success.

The three nominees were Mr. James Molony, who was to be raised to the Select Committee in January, Mr. James Thomas Robarts, a supercargo of the Company, and Mr. Charles Magniac, who had been Mr. Beale's partner; and on December 13th they wrote outlining a compromise which they had arranged with Senhor Arriaga and his Portuguese creditors. There had first been a difficulty in establishing the amount of the debt.

Mr. Arriaga had never recognized the amount of Debt due to Mr. Beale. Some of the most important transactions between them had the character of partnership accounts, where the gain or loss was to be equally divided, and particularly a large purchase of Opium in November 1813, for which funds to the extent of 867,000 Dollars were provided by Mr. Beale, and by him paid to Mr. Arriaga's order, who managed the whole transaction. Of the sale of this Opium Mr. Arriaga has never rendered any account whatever, and as the principal Chinese brokers with whom he dealt have been since banished to the Northern Provinces of the Empire, it would be difficult to substantiate legally the price obtained from them.

They then pointed out the obstacles in the way of obtaining justice, whether at Macao or at Rio de Janeiro. They had received accounts sufficiently clear to enable them to say that, after giving credit for some money already collected, there remained a sum due by Sr. Arriago of not less than 1,780,000 dollars, to which must be added interest from January, 1814; but there was every reason to suppose that the enormous sums realized from dealings in about 4,000 chests of opium and from other transactions had been consumed in prodigal gifts at Rio de Janeiro and in extravagant living at Macao. It was now proposed to compromise for one million dollars to be paid in five years, either by the Baron de St. Jozé de Porto Alegré, one of the creditors, or by Senhor Arriaga. In that time the baron

was to pay 445,000 dollars, Senhor Arriaga 225,000, and the balance was expected to be realized from property made over to the nominees. It was further estimated that, exclusive of the 150,000 to be first paid to the Company, Mr. Beale's debts would amount in all to 1,300,000 dollars. Subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, the compromise was accepted provisionally by the Select Committee.

Opium, of the illicit kind which had paid no duty to the Company in India, again claimed the attention of the Committee. In August it was ascertained at Macao that two Portuguese ships from Goa and a country ship from Bombay had brought a total of 300 chests of Malawan or Malwa opium ; and on country ships at Whampoa there were found to be about 250 chests of the same opium. It was further ascertained that, being bought at a prime cost of 200 to 250 dollars a chest, it yielded, after paying all expenses of transport, a profit of from 400 to 500 dollars a chest. The Committee conceived it to be their duty to represent to the Senate the serious injury inflicted by this illicit traffic on the revenues of the Company in India and on the mercantile interests of Macao ; and were much disappointed at receiving a reply which showed no great desire to suppress the traffic, but, on the contrary, an intention of encouraging trade in all its branches. And yet, three months later, in November, there was a reissue of some old regulations which had fallen into disuse.

In compliance with the Royal Orders the Senate causes the following Regulations to be published :

1st. The importation of Opium, the property of foreigners, into this city is prohibited unless coming to the consignment of Moradores here established.

2nd. The sale is only permitted to those enjoying this privilege.

3rd. Captains of Ships are not allowed to grant Bills of Lading to order, being restricted to receive Opium on board under consignment as per Reg. 1.

4th. Any Captain infringing the above to be liable to a fine of Tls. 400 and responsible for any loss occurring from the detention or seizure of the Opium.

5th. Opium the property of foreigners which may be brought into the Market in contravention of the Regulations, or sold by other than a Morador as required in Reg. 2, to be considered contraband and liable to seizure.

6th. Informants to receive one-third, and the production of an order

for the delivery of Opium from the house of a Morador, not signed by a person possessing that privilege, to be considered a sufficient proof of the fact.

During the season 350 tons of tin were imported from England and 200 tons from Eastern ports; and permission was given to commanders to take 157 tons of Banka tin as ballast from Canton to London

Arrack seems to be no longer bought for the use of the factory. Of Madeira the annual consumption in the Company's factory was stated to be six pipes, or 330 dozen reputed quart bottles. Some Madeira bought in Madras in 1814 proved to be 'unfit for the use of the table'; and the Court was asked to send one of the direct ships by way of Madeira, with orders to bring out ten pipes a year for two years, and thereafter six pipes a year. In the meantime the Committee bought in Canton ten pipes at 450 dollars a pipe.

Those members of the establishment who were paid a fixed salary, and not by a share in the commission, were again paid in silver at Canton owing to the unfavourable exchange:

Mr. Alex'r Pearson, Surgeon	£1,300—Dollars 5,417
Mr. John Livingstone, ,,	£1,000— ,, 4,167
Mr. Sam'l Ball, Tea Inspector	£2,500— ,, 10,417
Mr. W'm Baynes, Writer of 6 years standing	£1,200–5,000
Mr. Jas. Bannerman, ,, ,, 4 ,, ,,	£400–1,667
Mr. Chas. Marjoribanks, ,, ,, 4 ,, ,,	£400–1,667
Mr. J. F. Davis, ,, ,, 3 ,, ,,	£300–1,250
Mr. J. F. N. Daniell, ,, ,, 2 ,, ,,	£200–833
Mr. T. C. Smith, ,, ,, 1 ,, ,,	£100–417
Mr. John Jackson, ,, ,, 1 ,, ,,	£140–583
Mr. R. Morrison, as Chinese Interpreter	Dollars 2,083
as Instructor in Chinese	,, 2,083

The printing-press had its vicissitudes, and its location at Macao, under the assumed protection of the Portuguese authorities, did not exempt it from the attentions of the Chinese officials. Some sheets printed in English and Chinese having been handed in September to the Künming Fu, word was sent to the Company's comprador that the official intended to send to search the house. Orders were given to Mr. Thoms to close the door and take his precautions, and nothing occurred until the following February, when the house was attacked by a crowd of about twenty-five Chinese, who declared that they came by the authority of the

Tsotang. The Chinese carried off some printed sheets, specimens of Chinese type, and one Chinese employed by Mr. Thoms. The Committee complained to the Viceroy, who made light of the affair; but he maintained the prohibition to print Chinese writings or to do anything to facilitate instruction in the Chinese language. The Committee insisted on their right to do both; but, in order to free themselves from Chinese assistance, they applied to Lord Moira to send four natives of India who had been engaged in cutting types for the Serampore press in the College.

Mr. Beale had been protected from deportation, and Mr. Magniac continued to be protected, by the commission of His Majesty of Prussia, although, considered as British subjects, they infringed the monopoly of the English Company and were liable to expulsion. Under orders from the Court of Directors, who were anxious to preserve in China the monopoly which had been abolished in India, the Committee first took in hand the control of the country ships. During the disputes of 1814 these had shown an inclination to resist the orders given them by the Committee; and the Court had empowered the Committee to exercise the authority inherent in the Company for the protection of its monopoly. Consequent upon the acts of M^c^Clary in 1780, they had taken counsel's opinion, and in the opinion, dated December 24, 1782, and signed by L. Kenyon, R. P. Arden, and Geo. Rous, it was laid down that 'the power to seize and send to England given to the Company may be exercised by the Servants of the Company in China, as well as in their other Settlements'. The Court thereupon drew up some regulations for licensing the country trade, providing for registration, forbidding sale except by permission of the Company, placing the ships under the control of the Company's servants, and requiring that all on board going to China should return to India.

In 1816, with no less than 87 foreign ships in the anchorage at Whampoa, and in order to prevent obstruction to the Indiamen (28 in number), the country ships (39) were, by letters sent to each on arrival, placed under the control and subjected to the orders of the commodore of the Company's ships.

The case of natives of India—Moormen, Parsees, Armenians, &c.—who remained over the season presented more difficulties,

especially now that the Court had prohibited private agency to their factors; and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, as acting President, proposed that those on board country ships, as supercargoes or as passengers, need not necessarily return in the ship which brought them, but, if they did not, should be bound in a heavy penalty to return to India by April 1st of the ensuing year; but he declared that G. M. Baboom, who had been in China working mischief since before 1809, should be forcibly deported. In June it came to the knowledge of the Committee (Sir G. T. Staunton, President) that

a person of the name of [Edward] Watts is come on to China to endeavour to establish himself in Canton, upon the plea of holding an Austrian protection. As it is our obvious duty to discountenance and discourage by all legal means in our power any such attempts on the part of British subjects not duly licensed and permitted by the Hon'ble Company, and as our forbearance and that of our Hon'ble Employers towards one or two individuals of known character, respectability and good conduct, imposes no obligation whatever, on us or the Hon'ble Company to extend such forbearance to others,

it was resolved to publish to the commanders of country ships arriving the requirements of the Company imposed on them, especially the obligation to carry back to India all who came in the ship to China. The commander of the *Fame*, in which Mr. Watts had come, referred the matter to him; he paid no attention until August, when on the approaching departure of the *Fame* it became necessary to have the business settled. He then declared that he was

a naturalized Subject of Austria by Patent of Naturalization bearing date Vienna 19th July 1782, that I came to India under a Passport from the Imperial Court dated Vienna 30th Sept'r 1787, and that I hold a Diploma from the Court as Consul General in the East Indies and China for His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria bearing date Vienna the 2nd June 1807, in which public character I remain here.

On receipt of this, Sir T. Metcalfe, as acting President, recorded in secret consultation his own personal opinion:

Although the President is of opinion that the Austrian Commission cannot authorize a British subject acting contrary to the Laws of his Country and that no act of Naturalization can enable a man to throw off his allegiance, still it is very doubtful how far it would be politic in the present instance to carry the Law to its full extent, and he rather conceives it will tend more to the real Interests and Dignity of the

Hon'ble Company should it ever become necessary to seize any person in China, that it should emanate in an express order from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

The Committee decided, however, to persist, and put to Mr. Watts a series of questions (specifically whether at the dates mentioned he was of declared British nationality, or relied on his Austrian protection) based on the following known facts, that

Mr. Watts was a partner in the house of Chase Chinnery & Co. which failed at Madras in 1804; subsequently a partner in the house of Harington Barnaby & Co. at the same Presidency, which failed in 1812; afterwards employed by Messrs. Palmer & Co. of Calcutta as Superintendent of Godowns on a handsome salary, but which situation he was deprived of, on his employers discovering he had shared in the Dustoor with the Native Siccars contrary to their expressed orders and prohibitions.

Mr. Watts did not answer the questions, but he sent copies of the three documents on which he relied and declared his intention of remaining 'in his public capacity'.

Thereupon the Committee wrote to the Governor of Macao to warn him against the pretensions of Mr. Watts, a British subject, and received in reply a snub which they should have expected. At the close of the season Mr. Watts continued to flout the authority of the Committee; and several 'Moormen, Parsee Agents' were left at Canton, alleging that they had not finished their business, or that there was no conveyance to their home.

The internment of Napoleon at St. Helena produced an echo at Canton in an increased emigration to the island. Under date of May 7, 1816, the Governor, Lt.-Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, wrote to the Select Committee:

The non-arrival of the Chinese for whom [I] applied in 1813 has subjected this Island to some Inconvenience more especially as the arrangements consequent on the Arrival of General Bonaparte have caused an increased demand for Labour. The inconvenience however has in some measure been diminished by your authorizing a few Chinese to be sent in each ship, a practice we should wish to have continued until we shall receive an augmentation of 150 men. Our establishment might thus be increased to the desired number, without that direct interference on your part which you represent would be neither expedient or proper.

Writing in the next month the demand was increased from 150 to 350, to be sent as soon as possible:

Captain Coxwell states his readiness to bring us a proportion at the rate of £8 ℔ Man. . . . Of the above number it would be desirable that about 20 should be Carpenters, 10 Stone Masons, 10 Stone Cutters, 6 Blacksmiths, and the remainder accustomed to husbandry, gardening and the charge of live stock.

They were engaged, 50 artisans at 15 dollars and 300 land-men at 6 dollars a month each, with advance of four months' wages.

On October 24th the commander of the *Cornwall* reported that his quartermaster, Henry Hackroot, had thrown a sailor, William Fitzgerald, overboard from the jolly-boat while going down from the factories to Whampoa, and that Fitzgerald was not seen to rise again. The depositions of five witnesses were taken, and the commander was informed that

it appears necessary for the cause of justice that Henry Hackroot should be safely conveyed to England. You are therefore directed to use your utmost endeavours to prevent his leaving the Ship by placing him in confinement if necessary. You will take special care to deliver him up on your arrival to the first Magistrate, together with [the five witnesses] and we do hereby hold you responsible for the appearance of Henry Hackroot in England.

There is no indication that the Chinese took any cognizance of the affair.

LXXIII

LORD AMHERST'S EMBASSY, 1816

For the narrative of the Embassy of Lord Amherst the reader is referred to the accounts given by those who took part in it: [1] and in this chronicle will be described the doings at the factory in Canton or Macao, as they were affected by the experiences of the Ambassador. In this place it will be sufficient to give Lord Amherst's itinerary, bearing in mind that a public event at Peking would be known to the Viceroy at Canton within about fifteen days after its occurrence.

1816, Feb. 8. Embarked at Spithead on H.M.S. *Alceste*, accompanied by H.M. brig *Lyra* and the Company's chartered ship *General Hewitt*.

July 10. Arrived at the Lemma Islands, where the Embassy was joined by the staff from the factory.

July 28. Anchored outside the Peiho.

Aug. 9. Embassy landed at Tangku.

Aug. 12. Arrived at Tientsin; discussions on the kotow begin.

Aug. 20. Arrived at Tungchow.

Aug. 28. Left Tungchow.

Aug. 29. Arrived at daylight at Haitien; summoned to immediate audience; Ambassador hustled and pleaded illness; returned to Tungchow.

Aug. 30. Arrived at Tungchow at 3 a.m.

Sept. 2. Left Tungchow.

Oct. 14. Reached Kwachow on the Yangtze.

Nov. 14. Entered Poyang Lake.

Dec. 20. Crossed Meiling Pass.

1817, Jan. 1. Reached Canton.

Jan. 7. Viceroy delivered the Emperor's letter to the Ambassador.

Jan. 20. Ambassador left Canton.

Jan. 23. Arrived at Macao.

Jan. 28. Left Macao for Manila.

Feb. 18. *Alceste* wrecked in Gaspar Straits (107° E., 3° S.).

Aug. 17. Embassy landed at Spithead.

[1] *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China*, by Henry Ellis, Third Commissioner of the Embassy. London, 1818. *Sketches of China*, by John Francis Davis. London, 1841.

The preliminaries to Lord Amherst's Embassy were not so favourable as those of Lord Macartney's. As early as September of the year 1792, preceding his arrival, the official intimation of the proposed mission of Lord Macartney had been received by the Committee, and at once communicated to the provincial authorities for the information of the Imperial Administration; in Lord Amherst's case the first official intimation did not reach Canton until January of the same year, 1816, and was even then not of a positive character; while the definite instruction to inform the Chinese authorities of the proposed Embassy was seven months on the way, being dispatched by H.M.S. *Orlando*, and arriving on May 25th, only forty-five days before the arrival of the *Alceste* at the Lemmas. In January, with indecisive information only at his disposal, Mr. Elphinstone, then on the eve of his departure, postponed consideration of the business, which was taken up by Sir George Staunton on February 12th; after consultation the Committee then decided that, in the uncertainty in which they were left, it would be unwise for them to give official notice that the Embassy was coming; and it was only on the arrival of the *Orlando* that the official intimation was sent to the provincial authorities at Canton. At the consultation in February it was recognized that the prospect of a favourable reception for the Embassy was doubtful.

Not to dwell on the fact that the disturbed and unsettled state of the Government ever since the attempt to assassinate the Emperor in 1813, must render the Government less disposed to receive complimentary communications than in times of greater tranquillity; it is impossible to overlook the many and painful proofs which recent events have afforded that the 'violence injustice and despotism', and the 'wanton and unprincipled rule', which the Hon'ble the Secret Committee justly observe too generally characterize the proceedings of the provincial Govt. do not want countenance and support, if not in the breast, at least in the present Councils of the Sovereign himself. Under these circumstances we cannot doubt that any measures on our part which should disclose or seem to imply the probability of a Remonstrance being intended to be addressed to the latter against the former, would be almost equally unwelcome to both.

This being so, it was resolved to follow the precedent of 1792, to conform to the Emperor's orders given in 1794, and to give notice of the coming of the Embassy through the provincial

authorities, and not by a communication sent direct to Tientsin, thus removing all possibility of the rejection of the Embassy on any such technical ground as breach of regulation or nonconformity to precedent.

One difficulty which had confronted Lord Macartney had also to be met by Lord Amherst—a little war with Nepaul. Under date of June 15, 1816, Lord Moira in Council wrote to the Select Committee, referring to a previous letter of June 15, 1814, in which was made a statement of the circumstances and transactions which had led to hostilities with Nepaul:

> The events of the War which ensued, the disappointment which attended its outset, and its triumphant and successful termination, will have become known to you through the ordinary Channels of communication. . . . Credible information has been received by us that the Government of Nepaul had applied to the Emperor of China for assistance against our arms, but we have no reason to believe that their overtures received any attention or encouragement . . . the Letter from the Umbahs (? Amban) at Lassa . . . although expressed in a tone of loftiness there is nothing offensive, still less hostile, in its tenor, and we are disposed to believe that the disposition of the Chinese Umbahs is as expressed in that Letter, that our affairs with the Nepaulese should be settled without their intervention.

They enclosed the treaty which had been made with the Nepaulese and explained its provisions; and they sent a letter of compliment from the Governor-General to the Emperor, which was to be presented by the Ambassador. This letter was received at Canton on October 14th, the day on which the Embassy reached Kwachow on their way south; but the good feeling which it was intended to encourage did not suffer, since none had been manifested. The interest which the Ministers of Kienlung had shown in the Nepaul affair of 1793 was not shared by those of the degenerate and corrupt Court of Kiaking in 1816; and Lord Amherst was spared that aggravation of the treatment accorded to him.

The *Orlando* having brought the official advices on May 25th, the intimation was sent to the Fuyuen, acting Viceroy, on the 28th. On the 30th Sir T. Metcalfe returned by the *Thomas Grenville*, which also brought a letter for the Viceroy from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, President of the Board of Control of Indian Affairs. This letter was sent to its address by the hands

of Sir T. Metcalfe, who pleaded for the privilege of a chair at the audience with the Governor, but was denied it on the ground that the precedents to which he appealed were all private interviews, whereas this letter could only be delivered formally in the Imperial Hall and at a conclave of the principal officials. The chair was accordingly withheld, but in other respects the audience was satisfactory and the Governor courteous.

The first arrangement was that Lord Amherst should be joined in China by Mr. Elphinstone and Sir G. T. Staunton as Second and Third Commissioners respectively, but the departure of Mr. Elphinstone created a vacancy which, as had been prescribed, was filled by Mr. Henry Ellis, who had originally been the Secretary to the Embassy. In addition the Embassy was joined at the Lemmas by Messrs. Francis Hastings Toone, John Francis Davis, Robert Morrison, and Thomas Manning as interpreters, and by Alexander Pearson as surgeon, also qualified as interpreter. The post of translator to the factory was filled by Mr. James Bannerman in a very satisfactory manner. Mr. Manning arrived from India in May for the purpose of offering his services to the Embassy, and was engaged in consideration of an honorarium of 2,000 dollars. Except for Mr. Bannerman, the factory was denuded of interpreters, but it was felt that

> an extraordinary effort is intended to be made, to place our concerns in China on a better footing, [in which] it seems our duty to collect and concentrate upon that one object all the talents we can find that are applicable to it.

The exact composition of the Embassy was not known at first, but the Chinese authorities suspected that Sir G. T. Staunton was to accompany it to Peking; and on June 13th Howqua called upon Sir T. Metcalfe, and, premising that

> his present sentiments were only imparted from friendly motives, he alluded to the probability on the part of Sir George of a wish to proceed with the Embassy to Peking, which he recommended him not to do, as from what had passed in the preceding season the Emperor would not be pleased to hear of his travelling to Peking again. . . . I [Sir T. Metcalfe] merely replied that whoever was ordered by the King of England to go *must go*.

On June 19th Puankhequa gave to Sir T. Metcalfe the same

advice that had been given by Howqua, that Sir G. Staunton had better not go to Peking. At a secret consultation held on June 28th Sir G. T. Staunton recorded a minute that His Majesty's Ministers had included his name in the commission with full knowledge of the attack that had been made against him, and that he would but ill fulfil his duty to the Company and to his country if he allowed himself to be influenced by the advice tendered by Howqua and Puankhequa. Sir T. Metcalfe in a minute drew a parallel between the attacks on Mr. Roberts and on Sir G. T. Staunton, and declared that every supercargo who did his duty by the Company would, as he rose in seniority, find himself exposed to the hostility of the Chinese authorities; and he advised that, on the arrival of the *Lyra*, which was to be sent ahead of the *Alceste*,

Sir G. Staunton and suite should embark and proceed to some rendezvous to join the Embassador; apprising the Mandarins of the circumstance, but to move out of reach of any reply.

It was feared that orders might come from Peking ordering the Ambassador to land at Canton and proceed to Peking by the inland route, or even to deliver his letters and tribute to the Viceroy at Canton and to proceed no farther; and to obviate the danger, Sir G. Staunton and the others, on July 7th, embarked on the cruiser *Discovery* to join the Embassy, while the cruiser *Investigator* was sent out with a letter to Lord Amherst. The same idea had occurred to Lord Amherst, who, on June 12th, had dispatched the *Lyra* from Angier Point with instructions to take Sir G. Staunton on board and then join the *Alceste*,

which if secretly and successfully executed may prove of the utmost good consequence to the Embassy.

The *Lyra* found Sir G. Staunton on July 8th, and they joined the Embassy on July 10th.

Here we have the first mention in the records of the island of Hongkong. The ship *Thomas Grenville*, homeward bound, was ordered first 'to the eastward' to communicate with Sir G. Staunton, who was to be found at one of the two following places of rendezvous:

1st. Malihoy Bay abreast the Waterfall at Hongkong in the Channel between Hongkong and the North end of the Lamma Island.

2nd. Northward of and within two or three miles of the Great Lema Island.

In the following October, when it appeared to Sir T. Metcalfe probable that he might have to expedite the dispatch of the *Cornwall* as a packet, he directed her commander to have all in readiness to proceed at a moment's notice, and to complete her water 'either in the Taypa or at a more convenient place Hongkong Bay'. It was in this bay that the *Alceste* anchored from the evening of July 10th until the 13th,[1] filling her casks. From the map in *The Voyages of the Nemesis, 1840–3*, it appears that the waterfall was at the head of Shekpywan Harbour, now called Aberdeen Bay.

From the commander of the *Lyra* Sir G. Staunton received information regarding the composition of the Embassy, to the effect that Mr. Ellis was to be second member of the commission and to succeed in case of the death of the Ambassador, which filled him with dismay. He wrote to Lord Amherst a letter explaining his misgivings that his acceptance of a subordinate place would lower him in the eyes of the Chinese officials at Canton, and in that way impair his usefulness to the Company. Lord Amherst reassured him, and informed him that, on the departure of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir G. Staunton's place was second and Mr. Ellis's third in the commission; and that, in the event of the Ambassador's death or absence, this order would not be changed. On receipt of this assurance Sir. G. Staunton formally accepted his nomination on the Embassy, and declared his readiness to proceed; he further advised the Ambassador to leave at once in order to avert the possibility of orders from the Emperor that the Embassy was not to go to the north. Lord Amherst acceded to this; but as the *Alceste* was about to weigh anchor at noon of July 13th, a fast boat from Macao brought from Sir T. Metcalfe a copy of the imperial edict accepting the proposed Embassy and ordering it to proceed to Tientsin without delay.

The Embassy arrived off the Peiho on July 28th, and at once began the battle over the kotow. In his instructions[2] language was used which seemed to authorize Lord Amherst to perform the

[1] Ellis, *Journal*, i, pp. 85, 89; Davis, *Sketches*, i, p. 6.
[2] Cf. Appendix V (2).

kotow, if by its performance the success of the mission could be ensured, or if a refusal would imperil that success. The question of compliance was debated on the way up the coast, while anchored outside the Peiho, and during the long discussions with the Chinese. Lord Amherst was undecided; he was navigating in strange waters, and did not venture to disregard the advice of his pilot, Sir G. Staunton; but he feared that, if he refused compliance, he would be sent away without an audience, and his mission brought to failure. Mr. Ellis was of opinion that the kotow was a matter of indifference:

> Entertaining originally a different opinion upon the Ko-tou itself, and upon the consequences of compliance, and considering that were the other circumstances connected with the treatment of the embassy not unsatisfactory, resistance upon this point was by no means essential to the support of our national respectability, I have naturally felt deep regret at the prospect of being denied reception from a continued refusal to comply with the wishes of the Chinese, and yet I do not in the least blame myself for having surrendered my opinion to the experience of Sir George Staunton . . . but I shall feel, if compelled to return without an audience, a doubt whether a contrary result would have been too dearly bought, by sacrificing the distinction between nine prostrations of the head to the ground upon two knees, and nine profound bows upon one knee.[1]

Sir G. Staunton represented the opposing view, and on August 8th, on the eve of landing at Tangku, he gave to the Ambassador his written opinion on the question:

> Your Lordship having done me the honour to desire my opinion relative to the expediency of a compliance with the Chinese Ceremony of Prostration in reference to the effect it may have on the British character and interests at Canton, I beg to state that I feel strongly impressed with the idea that a compliance therewith will be unadviseable even although the refusal should be attended with the hazard of the total rejection of the Embassy. I am fully sensible of the importance of the objects of the present mission, but cannot bring myself to believe that their attainment would in the smallest degree be promoted by the compliance in question, and the mere reception (it could hardly be termed honorable reception) of the Embassy would I think be too dearly purchased by such a sacrifice.

Lord Amherst found it difficult to come to a decision, in view of the divergent instructions given to him.

[1] Ellis, *Journal*, i, p. 230.

It was curious to observe the difference between the instructions received from the government and the recommendations emanating from the Court of Directors. The former implied that we went simply in search of whatever we could pick up, and that the performance of the ceremony was to be regarded in no other view than as it affected the question of profit or loss. The Company said—' Have most regard to the effect that the embassy is to produce at Canton ; complain of the conduct of the local authorities to our trade ; and make no concessions, in point of ceremony or reception, which appear calculated to diminish the national respectability of the English at that place '. Now as the welfare of the Company's trade was really the chief object of the embassy, it was fair to conclude that the Company was the party most likely to give the best advice. Distant as Peking was from the seat of our trade, the effect of the mission at Canton was of more consequence than its mere nominal reception at Court ; and less was to be gained by a servile compliance with the demands of the imperial government than by a manly appeal to the justice of the Emperor against the insolence and extortions of his officers at Canton, and by a decent maintenance of our national independence.[1]

The ultimate expression of opinion on the subject is found in a dispatch addressed by Sir T. Metcalfe and his colleagues of the Select Committee to Lord Amherst on his return to Canton.

If the ceremony of the Kotow was merely a form of obeisance on entering into the presence of a Sovereign no objection could exist to its performance, as was evinced by the proposition of Lord Macartney, but when it is peremptorily insisted upon as an acknowledgement that the Emperor of China is the Sovereign of the Universe and demanded as a Duty from other Potentates being his vassals, it is scarcely possible to suggest any circumstance that could induce a compliance and its humiliation requires most deliberate consideration.

With some vacillation Lord Amherst decided not to perform the kotow, and maintained his refusal notwithstanding the most insistent efforts of the Ministers of the Court to induce him to alter his decision. These efforts continued day after day, demands that he should consent being supported by assurances, on the word of an Emperor from his own recollection, that Lord Macartney had performed the three kneelings and the nine knockings of the head on the ground, and varied by peremptory summons to rehearse the ceremony in the presence, and under the tuition, of the Emperor's delegates. Finally, on the morning of August 29th, the Ambassador, dusty and

[1] Davis. *Sketches*, i, p. 56.

travel-stained, worn with fatigue after twelve hours of journeying over a rough stone road through the hot night, was hustled by the nobles of the Court and the Ministers of State, dragged by the arm, and pushed in the direction of the Emperor's reception hall for an immediate audience. He demanded time to obtain his credentials, time to garb himself as was fitting for a peer of Great Britain and the Ambassador of his sovereign, time above all to recover from his fatigue and to be in a state fit for the audience for which he had come fifteen thousand miles—but to the last he declared his refusal to perform the kotow. He finally broke away; and the Emperor, angry at his attitude as it had been reported, ordered his immediate return through the second night to Tungchow, and thence to Canton.[1] Lord Amherst's own opinion of his treatment is contained in his report handed to Sir T. Metcalfe, on his return to Canton, for the records of the Select Committee:

> It will be impossible I think for any one who recollects the order and regularity which attended most of the proceedings in Lord Macartney's Embassy; the deliberation with which every thing appeared to be conducted, and more especially the decorous reception which, after the appointment of a distant day for that purpose, was given him at Zehol, not to be struck with the extreme difference in the manners and proceedings of Tchien Lungs Court and that of Kia King. Nothing with the exception perhaps of the departure from Pekin, appears in Lord Macartney's time to have been the result of a hasty determination. The transactions of every day seem to have been preconcerted, prearranged, and fully understood, whereas in the present instance, unless deception was intentionally practised, there seems to have been on the part of the Emperor's Agents an utter ignorance and misconception of his intentions. From the time of our first landing, an indecent hurry, to say the best of it, has prevailed in every transaction. Orders seem to have been capriciously issued and to have been blindly and therefore imperfectly obeyed. Perhaps the personal character of the two Emperors may have principally influenced the events of the present and preceding Embassy.

There were some evidences, after the return to Tungchow, that the Court and the Ministers of the Emperor felt that they had gone too far in their demonstrations of the Chinese superiority in civilization. The Emperor sent to ask for an exchange of presents, sending a jade Juyi and some other articles, and

[1] Ellis, *Journal*, i, p. 268; Davis, *Sketches*, i, p. 152.

receiving in return portraits of the King and Queen, a set of maps, and a portfolio of engravings. The Imperial Duke who had been the chief culprit in the treatment of the Ambassador was degraded from his posts at Court. On the way south the treatment of the Embassy improved as they got farther from Peking, the last act of actual rudeness being the failure of the Viceroy at Nanking to see the Ambassador as he passed that city—until they arrived at Canton, when the Viceroy was rude, while the Legate who had accompanied them from Peking had become almost friendly in his attentions to the Ambassador. For the progress of the Embassy was a campaign in the long-drawn-out war between the English East India Company and the provincial authorities at Canton. In the rejection of the Embassy at Yuenmingyuen the provincial authorities had won their victory, and the Company had been taught that appeals to Peking against their rapacity and oppression were of no avail.

When the Embassy landed on August 9th, the ships at once sailed for Canton, much to the dismay of the Chinese. The Company's ship *General Hewitt* was the first to arrive off Lintin on September 12th, and applied to Macao for a pilot. This was refused by the Künming Fu on the ground that the Viceroy had issued orders that all five of the ships which had gone north should remain at Canton until the return of the Ambassador. The factory arrived at Canton on September 21st, and Sir T. Metcalfe sent a note to the Viceroy asking that orders be given for pilots to go to the *General Hewitt* at once, and for the other four as they arrived, to bring them up to Whampoa; that the *General Hewitt* would load tea for England, and the other four would await the Ambassador's return. The merchants requested the Committee to add a request for the remission of export duties as on the tribute-bearing ship; but they were reluctant to ask the favour, and only consented to refer to her as being in the same situation as the *Hindostan* in 1793. On the 23rd the Committee learned that 'the provisions of the *General Hewitt* were stopt'; the Merchants obtained a Chop from the Hoppo, which the man-of-war boats around the ship refused to recognize. On the 23rd, the 24th, the 25th, the merchants spent the whole of each day in the city, and at the end could not inform the Committee of the Viceroy's intentions; but on the 26th the linguists brought

a Chop from the Hoppo directing them to inform the President that the *General Hewitt* must remain at the Second Bar, and the *Alceste* and *Lyra* must not enter the Boca Tigris.

As the Chop was not addressed to the Committee but to the Linguists the President refused to receive it, considering that this novel and insulting mode of replying to the addresses of the Committee ought on no account to be submitted to. . . . We took this occasion to remind the Merchants of the Treaty entered into in 1814 wherein the Viceroy expressly promised that our Letters in Chinese characters should be received and replied to by him.

A second appeal to the Viceroy was then prepared, informing him that the Directors had ordered that the tribute ship should be loaded with tea for London, and requesting that for that purpose she might come up to Whampoa. This the merchants, desirous of avoiding their experiences of the three days, carried to the Provincial Judge, who refused to receive it. The Hoppo, meantime, continually promised a victualling permit; but the provisions did not get on board. Then on October 2nd a note was prepared for the Viceroy, Governor, and Hoppo jointly, again urging the claims of the *General Hewitt*. The merchants reported an apparently conciliatory attitude in the Hoppo, and asked for a delay of three days before this was sent. On the 4th they brought a message from the Hoppo asking that a clause be added to the Committee's letter, undertaking that, when the ship was loaded, she should await in port the arrival of the Ambassador. This message the Committee refused to accept, declaring that, if the Hoppo or the Viceroy would write a reply to their letter, they would consider it and would send a written answer; but they would not receive messages through the merchants, and insisted on the terms of the treaty of 1814. On October 5th they handed to the merchants a further note for the Viceroy; and when this was returned on the 6th, declared that they must now present their note at the city gates. On the 8th the merchants again tried to evade the unpleasant duty, but ended by consenting. On the 9th they called to say that the Viceroy wished to know the contents before opening the letter; but Sir T. Metcalfe would only reply that it related to the *General Hewitt*. On October 11th a mandate from the Viceroy and the Hoppo ordered the merchants to inform the Committee that

the tribute ship must remain at the Second Bar, and must keep her import of lead on board, and not begin to load teas, until the arrival of the Ambassador. On the 14th, in a note to the Viceroy and the Hoppo, the Committee informed them that they could not accept quietly the treatment accorded to themselves or to the ship bearing presents, and that, in order to carry out the orders of the Directors, they intended to instruct the *General Hewitt* to move up from the Second Bar to Whampoa. The ship was constantly surrounded by guard-boats, and in sending Captain Walter Campbell his orders they added a word of caution:

> In adopting this measure it is hardly necessary to point out to you the danger that does exist of Bloodshed, but we have reliance on your prudence and discretion, that makes us confident no violent acts will be resorted to till the last extremity. We do not conceive the Junks will fire on your Ship, but if they do, the honor of our Nation requires a return which if speedily given by a blank cartridge may prevent the necessity of shot.

Captain Campbell on October 19th made visible preparations for unmooring, unbending his sails, and loading his guns, and then, as the tide turned and the wind was weak, remained at his anchorage; but there was much agitation in the guard-boats, and their officers assured him that the presence of the boats was intended as a mark of respect to the ship bearing presents; and they begged him to wait 'until Tuesday evening', to enable them to get fresh orders from the Viceroy. To this he agreed, but

> I gave them to understand that it was only from my ship forming part of a pacific Mission that made us submit to or permit what to an Englishman was but an insult.

The Viceroy now deputed an officer, who is referred to as the Laou Tong, who proceeded to the Second Bar and tried to persuade Captain Campbell to remain there; but, finding him obdurate,

> the Laou Tong endeavoured to prove that the Boats being placed round the *Hewitt* and even her detention was meant as a compliment and a protection against Pirates, but that as he had now been particularly appointed to this special duty he would take on himself to permit the Ship to proceed to Whampoa.

Captain Campbell also produced certain dispatches from Lord Amherst to the Secretary of State; and when asked why they

could not be sent by another ship, replied that, as they had been entrusted to him, he must deliver them. He then took his ship to Whampoa, arriving there on October 22nd; whereupon the Committee addressed a letter in studiously moderate terms to the Hoppo, asking a permit to begin loading. This he refused to receive. The Committee then declared that, as the merchants seemed unable to obtain for them access to the officials, they were driven to the only alternative—sending a deputation to the city gates with their memorial. On the 24th the commodore, Captain James Jameson (the actual senior, Captain Walter Campbell, not having assumed the duties of commodore), accompanied by most of the commanders and some officers of the Company's ships, took the memorials to the gate of the city and delivered them to 'a Mandarin of distinction'. The Viceroy was angry, and the Namhoi Hien struck—at his own countrymen who were under his jurisdiction.

Oct. 25. Assembled at ten at night to meet the Merchants who had been detained in the City the whole of the day. It becomes now our painful task to record an act on the part of the Officers of this Government, which renders the situation of Foreigners in this Country frequently so embarrassing from their inability effectually to resist, and which strikes deep at the root of the Security of our Commercial Interests. On the arrival of our Compradore in the City he was violently accused before the Namhaeheen of having been the conductor of the Europeans yesterday, and notwithstanding the professions of his innocence was immediately ordered for punishment. He has been severely beaten and tortured in a manner used towards the lowest Criminals and thrown into prison. . . . We placed such reliance in him as to confide to him the principal charge of our Treasury. . . . We understand also that two of the Linguists and the Chinese (A-tong) who communicated with the President in the morning have been seized and treated in a similar manner.

On October 26th the merchants—this means, more or less, all of the eleven Hong Merchants—again came to the factory to express the displeasure of the Viceroy at the audacity of the Committee in sending the deputation to the city gate,

and recommended our remaining quiet for the present without taking any further notice of what had occurred. It was observed that however much displeased the Viceroy might be the blame remained solely with the Merchants for refusing to be the Bearers of our Letters to the Government. That it was now our bounden duty and their business

to make every exertion for the release of our Compradore . . . that until this was effected we could not enter into the consideration of any other Business whatsoever.

This last declaration was conveyed by the Merchants to the officials,

on which the Mandarines were much enraged and sending for the Compradore and Linguists ordered them again to be beaten. This was prevented solely by the Merchants prostrating themselves for half an hour and interceding in their behalf. The Merchants then said that if the Committee persevered further in this affair, it might cost the Compradore his Life. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe observed that this was the constant mode of working on our feelings, that he could remember when chains were brought to the Council Room for Mowqua (the Father of the present Merchant) to intimidate the Committee. . . . They took their leave and shortly after this the President was apprized that our Head Compradore was compelled to abscond as the Police runners were in search of him, and Sir T. Metcalfe's own servant is obliged to keep within the house. Mr. Bannerman's Chinese Master has likewise withdrawn himself.

For a few days the Committee consented to adopt a quiescent policy; then they began to agitate again, but without avail. On November 8th the merchants communicated a mandate which they had received from the Viceroy and the Hoppo in reply to the Committee's memorial presented at the city gate—for the Viceroy had at length consented to open it and read it. The key-note of the reply is found in the following phrases:

The Chief says that Englishmen implicitly obey the orders of their King, that they strive to conform to the Laws of the Country with which they trade, that the mandates of their King are in this instance the same as those of the Emperor. Now the said King presents tribute with sincerity of heart and has conformed with the Imperial Laws and regulations, the said Chief since he does know how to obey the orders of his King ought likewise to conform to those of the Emperor. . . . The Chief Metcalfe must respectfully conform to the Laws and prohibitions and quietly wait till the return of the Ambassador to Canton.

But later on the same day a second mandate communicated the news that an edict from the Emperor had been received ordering that the tribute ship should be allowed to receive a cargo, which should be exempt from export duties; but with the added condition that the ship must remain in Canton until the Ambassador's arrival there, and must then carry back the presents which

were being brought down by him. Sir T. Metcalfe accepted this as far as it suited him ; but, as the Viceroy would not receive his letters, he refused to give any written undertaking ; and he declared that he would deal with the presents as the Ambassador should direct. The merchants, however, gave a bond for the stay of the ship, and permits were issued after a few days for her lading of tea.

On November 14th H.M.S. *Alceste*, returned from the north, was fired on by war junks as she approached Chuenpi ; and, desirous of following the precedent of H.M.S. *Lion* in 1793 and going inside the river to the Second Bar, she was again fired on by upwards of a hundred guns as she passed the Bogue forts.[1] With one broadside she silenced the forts, and her commander, Captain Maxwell, desiring at once to explain and to protest, wrote a letter which he delivered to the senior merchants to transmit to the Viceroy. They applied to Sir T. Metcalfe to learn its contents, and were informed that

> the Ambassadors Ships were not immediately connected with the Committee, nor did it any way concern them, that it would be a very serious cause of complaint in England should the Address be returned as it would reflect discredit on the Embassy.

Upon this the letter was accepted by Howqua for transmission. This was on November 22nd. Two days later, on the 24th, it is recorded in the Secret Consultations that the Viceroy had sent orders to the Namhoi Hien to arrest several employees of the English factory, among them being the servant for sixteen years of Sir T. Metcalfe, the head servant for many years the body servant of Mr. Elphinstone, and 'Afong the Chinese Superintendent of our Tea Hall'.

> The inclusion of the third person Afong is more serious and should he by any misfortune fall into the hands of the police it is impossible for us to perceive the evil consequences that might arise. Any name may be extorted from him by the methods pursued by the Government, and as he really knows those who have procured the Chinese Masters we can scarcely hope that he can manfully refrain from informing. . . . Our Compradore who was in charge of our Treasury has been for upwards of a month in confinement in the City. . . . Our Tea Man is accused as having taught Europeans the Chinese character, the style of writing, and otherwise instructed them how to act. The Mandarin

[1] Cf. Appendix V (8).

of Heang Shan, in whose district his family reside, sent twelve armed men to seize him; and his family have deemed it prudent to disperse.

A written protest to the Viceroy was prepared, but its presentation was delayed, 'as a change is to take place in one of the principal Officers concerned'.

The senior merchants had clearly understood that Captain Maxwell's letter was from him, but they informed the Viceroy that it was from the President; and the reply, received on November 29th, was in the form of a mandate to the merchants to instruct the Chief to communicate to the captain the will of the Viceroy in the matter. The essence of the reply was, notwithstanding the fact that the *Alceste* had by request waited six days at Lintin, that her commander was too impetuous, and that orders for her admission to the river had been sent too late to prevent the opening of fire from the forts. Sir T. Metcalfe refused to be the medium of transmission of a message so sent, and Captain Maxwell refused to receive a verbal message from the mouth of merchants in place of the written reply which he had a right to expect; he even refused to see the merchants unless he was assured that they bore such a written reply.

The comprador was released on November 30th after thirty-five days' imprisonment.

Our several earnest applications to the Merchants to effect this had previously proved unavailing. We were only deterred from addressing the Government by repeated assurances that it would only serve to protract the period of his confinement, and be attended with injurious consequences to himself and family. He has now been liberated because it suited the Caprice of the Officers of Government to do so. . . . He is much disfigured and evidently suffers great pain from the severe treatment he endured. The Linguist was released at the same time.

On December 2nd attention was again turned to the *General Hewitt*, and shipments of tea by her were stopped until the Committee should give a written undertaking to await the Ambassador's arrival, and to leave space for the returned presents. The Committee protested; but the orders were repeated in a mandate of the 6th. On the 11th the Committee offered to keep two ships in place of the *General Hewitt*; they refused to sign any further guarantees, but the merchants signed a bond, and shipments were again permitted. The ship

completed her lading, and was dispatched on January 5th, four days after the arrival of the Ambassador in Canton. Her homeward lading was invoiced at Tls. 220,815; and a sum of Tls. 6,717 was remitted as being the legal export duties on the tribute ship.

One minor outrage has now to be recorded out of its chronological order. On January 29th, after the Ambassador had left Canton,

late in the evening Goqua gave information of the seizure by the Runners of the Namhoi's office of a person who had formerly been one of Mr. Morrison's servants, in his private dwelling house within the City.

Jan. 30. Hearing that Puiqua and Puankhequa had just returned from Macao, the former was summoned and being apprised of the seizure, he was requested to make inquiries respecting the cause of the arrest, and if it should appear that his employment in the service of a Chinese Interpreter constituted the principal Cause, and that he was likely to be subjected to the Examination of the Torture, whereby evidence might be procured to convict the other Natives employed by different members of the Factory as Instructors in the Chinese Language, Puiqua was desired to use strenuous exertions to crush the proceeding in its origin.

The merchants were apprehensive of difficulty if the step had been taken by order of the Viceroy; but after a brief examination servant was released on February 4th.

The Embassy arrived at Canton on January 1, 1817, after a four months' journey. They were met at 2 p.m., at Whonghong in the Macao Passage, by Sir T. Metcalfe and the Select Committee, by the commanders and officers of H.M. ships and the Company's ships, and by the American Consul. At 5 p.m. Lord Amherst and the Commissioners, with Captain Maxwell and Sir T. Metcalfe, entered the Ambassador's barge and proceeded, escorted by five boats from H.M. ships, eighteen boats from ten Company's ships, and the American Consul's boat, to the Honam Temple, where quarters had been provided for the Embassy. The landing-stage was lined with Chinese troops, and there were present at the entrance to the temple some of the officials of Canton, but none of high rank. There the Ambassador landed at 6 p.m.

between two lines formed by the Gentlemen of the Factory and the Commanders and officers who falling into procession as His Excellency

passed attended him to the Hall of Audience where they were severally introduced and most graciously received.

The first six days of the new year were spent by the Ambassador in resting, entertaining and being entertained by the English community, inspecting the working of the factory, completing his dispatches for the Government and the Court of Directors and his report for the archives of the Select Committee, and in negotiating respecting the ceremony with which he was to receive from the hands of the Viceroy the letter from the Emperor of China to the King of Great Britain and Ireland. This was settled, and on January 7th

The Ceremony to be observed in delivering into the charge of Lord Amherst the Letter of the Emperor of China to the British Sovereign, having at length been adjusted to the satisfaction of His Excellency and of the Royal Commissioners, The Viceroy of Canton accompanied by the Foo Yuen and Hoppo proceeded at Noon to the Temple of Ho Nan, at present occupied as a residence by the British Embassy. Several temporary rooms had previously been erected on either side of the Pavement which led from the entrance of the Hall of the Principal Idols, in front of which, a small Chamber decorated chiefly with Ornaments of a Yellow Colour, was prepared for the occasion. Into this appartment the three Chinese Officers above mentioned repaired and taking their seats on the left or higher side of the Yellow Table, upon which the Emperor's Letter was deposited, sent to announce their Arrival to the Ambassador. Previously to their landing at Honan they had in compliance with Chinese Etiquette, sent in their Cards and received his Excellency's in return.

Lord Amherst wearing the Robes of a Peer and accompanied by the Royal Commissioners and Gentlemen of the Embassy, shortly left his private Apartments, and advanced in procession, preceded by the Band and Guard, and followed by his Servants in State Liveries.

The procession made a broad sweep round the bottom of the Court, where the band and Guard opening a passage, His Excellency and Suite walked deliberately up to the Yellow Table: The Viceroy and His Colleagues rose at their approach, and the former receiving the Imperial Letter, enclosed in a hollow bamboo case, from an attendant, and supporting it on both hands on a level with his head, silently delivered it to the Ambassador, by whom it was immediately transferred to Mr. Heyne. The Viceroy motioned the Ambassador to lead the way; they quitted the Chamber, and walked rapidly down to one of the temporary rooms where the three Chinese Officers sate on the Right hand side of the table, leaving, as had been previously agreed, the left or more honorable places to the British Representatives. It had been

the wish of the Ambassador to be accompanied by several other Officers of Rank, but as he objected to an equal number of attendants on the part of the Ambassador being accommodated with seats, each Party was reduced to the Number above mentioned, with the addition of Mr. Morrison, who occupied a Stool below the Chair of the second Commissioner.

The Viceroy in a low tone of voice, having asked the usual trifling questions, respecting the Ages of Lord Amherst and his colleagues, the distance to, and time requisite for a Voyage to Great Britain, added 'through the favor of the Emperor, you have traded to China upwards of a hundred Years'. Lord Amherst replied 'That Trade has no doubt been equally to the advantage of both Nations'. The Viceroy said 'You depend upon Trade, We do not'. Lord Amherst retorted 'England places no greater dependence upon Trade than China; the Trade of Canton yields as much benefit to the latter as to the former Country'. 'Well', answered the Viceroy, 'let us talk upon other subjects mutually agreeable. The people of all Countries stand in need of trade: the Emperor has remitted the duties upon the Cargo of the Tribute Ship.' The Ambassador acknowledged that he had already been informed of it. The Viceroy expressed a hope, that the two Nations might long continue in amity; to which Lord Amherst replied, 'such is my earnest wish—I know it also to be the desire of the Sovereign'. The Ambassador then rose followed instantly by the Viceroy who pointed to a number of low tables in an Opposite Apartment, covered with fruits and sweetmeats and presented them in the Name of the Emperor. The Ambassador with his suite, withdrew to his private apartments, without receiving from, or paying to the Chinese any of the Marks of attention customary in the Intercourse of Society.

The Manners of the Viceroy throughout the Interview betrayed extreme embarrassment and constraint. The Foo Yuen and Hoppo preserved a strict silence. During the short conversation Tea was served three separate times, which was represented to be usual on occasions of great Ceremony.

Before the objection of the Viceroy to meet a large party of Englishmen was known, it was the wish of His Excellency the Ambassador, to have been accompanied by the Select Committee. But while the Chinese preferred withdrawing the intended addition to their party, to an admission of an equal number on the part of Lord Amherst, the object of equality was gained, and further discussion, on that subject, rendered inexpedient.

The Imperial Commissioner attached to the Embassy had been very aggressive up to the time of the rupture; but from the day when their faces were turned southward his manners had gradually improved, he seemed anxious to have them leave

China with favourable impressions, and he might almost be said to have assumed the manners of polite society. On January 13th

The Imperial Legate Kuang-ta-gin in consequence of the Presidents Invitation repaired to the Factory soon after noon, when he was received by the Select Committee and met by his Exc'y the Embassador and Suite. A public breakfast was prepared for the occasion. The Legates Conduct was civil and unrestrained and seemed intended to make a conciliatory impression. He retired in about 3 hours, having previously informed Lord Amherst that the Viceroy would probably accompany him on Sunday to the Embassadors Residence, when those Mandarines proposed to take leave of his Excellency previous to His Embarkation on the following day in H.M.S. *Alceste*.

On January 18th Sir T. Metcalfe, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Ball set out for Macao to prepare for the reception of the Embassy. On the 20th the Ambassador and the Embassy left their quarters in the Honam Temple. The departure was marked by some degree of ceremony, with salutes and presentation of arms, but only some minor officials and the senior Hong Merchants were present.

Previous to Lord Amherst's quitting his Residence a message was delivered by the Linguist purporting that the Viceroy was waiting in a boat, opposite the City Walls, to bow to the Ambassador as he passed. The Viceroy's Card which accompanied this message was returned in compliance with Chinese Etiquette, his messenger informed that, if the Viceroy happened to meet his Excellencys Eye, his bow would be acknowledged. It was supposed that this Officer had received the orders of the Court to take leave of the Ambassador, but gratified his dislike towards foreigners, by adopting the smallest personal attention that was consistent with his safety. The Legate Kuang-ta-gin paid his final Visit yesterday morning. During the conversation he made excuses for the absence of the Viceroy on account of ill health . . . after conversing on commonplace topics for half an hour, Kuang-ta-gin withdrew, recommending the Ambassador to soften, as far as he was able, his report to the English Government of the Circumstances in which his Lordship had been engaged in China.

It remained only for the Portuguese Governor, existing in Macao by sufferance of the Chinese, to administer a parting slap to the British Ambassador. When Sir T. Metcalfe, on January 21st, called on the Governor to notify him of the approaching visit of the Ambassador, he asked what troops the Governor proposed to call out to do honour to his guest and to maintain order. The Governor expressed his apprehension that such a measure,

since the Chinese authorities had orders from Canton to show respect to the Ambassador, might lead to discussions with them and give umbrage, which he was anxious to avoid; but he agreed to the landing of marines from the *Alceste*. He also stated that the mourning for the death of the Queen of Portugal (which had occurred on March 20, 1816, at Rio de Janeiro) was to last from January 20th to 29th, and during that time he would not be permitted to leave his house to call on the Ambassador, nor could he order a salute to be fired in his honour. Sir T. Metcalfe then suggested that the Governor should send an aide-de-camp to explain the matter to the Ambassador; but this the Governor refused to do, alleging that his communication to the President was of equal value. On January 23rd

About 11 o'clock His Excellency landed; a salute of 19 Guns having been fired from each of the Company's Cruisers. The Marines [from the *Alceste*] being drawn up and the Band playing, His Excellency landed; he was received by the Gentlemen of the Factory in full dress and proceeded to the house of Mr. Robarts, passing a line of about 40 Chinese Troops which were drawn up in Compliment. . . . Sir The. Metcalfe cannot but express his satisfaction at the orderly conduct of these Soldiers and the general behaviour of the Chinese; which, whatever turn they may give it in their Edicts, was complimentary and pleasing and strongly contrasted with the Reception of the Portuguese.

Jan. 28. Lord Amherst embarked. . . . His Lordship expressed himself much pleased with the Reception which he had experienced from his own Countrymen.

The Portuguese had shown him no attention during his stay in Macao. The *Alceste* picked up the Indiamen outside, on board the *Scaleby Castle* being Sir George Thomas Staunton, who had been the guiding spirit of the Embassy, who was now forced to leave China by the calls of health, and who, moreover, felt that there was much which he alone could adequately explain to the Court of Directors. The opinion of the Select Committee, with Sir T. Metcalfe at their head, is given in the following extract from their dispatch to Lord Amherst:

Greatly as we must feel the treatment Your Excellency met at Yuen-ming-yuen and the insolent manner in which the negotiation was broken off by the Court of Pekin, we cannot but congratulate Your Lordship on the subsequent Edicts issued by the Emperor of China evincing a degree of repentance and a wish to remove the merited censure from himself that could not have been expected from this arbitrary monarch.

. . . The liberty that has been enjoyed [during the journey south] appears to have arisen from the firm and dignified mode in which Your Excellency required reasonable relaxation in such a journey, indulgences which no petition or concession could have effected, and this confirms the opinions of most residents in this Country, that submission only leads to degradation and disgrace, whereas a firm and decided tone will generally carry a point in China provided the grounds are just and reasonable, however it may be urged that the point is contrary to established rules and custom.

APPENDIX V

Letter from the Prince Regent to the Emperor of China

(1)

George Prince Regent in the name and in behalf of His Majesty George the Third by the Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, King of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, etc. etc. etc. to the most high mighty and glorious Prince the Emperor of China our Brother and cousin health and true happiness.

Most High and Mighty Prince.

The lamented and continued illness of my Royal and venerable Father having called me to the exercise of the functions of sovereignty I have felt anxious to communicate the important occurrence to Your Imperial and Royal Majesty, and to cultivate and improve by every means in my power the friendship, that so happily subsisted between our Royal Fathers and their respective Empires. The present time when under the favour of the Almighty the Blessings of Peace have been diffused over the Dominions of my Royal Father and the several states of Europe has appeared to me the most auspicious Season for addressing myself to your Imperial Majesty, and I have accordingly dispatched to your presence our Right Trusty and well beloved councillor William Pitt Lord Amherst, Peer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and one of the Lords of His Majesty's Bedchamber, who has been employed in diverse important Missions, and in whom we repose entire confidence with the Rank of His Majesty's Embassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary who with every assurance of my profound regard and attachment will deliver this Letter to Your Imperial Majesty. His Majesty's Embassador will also present certain articles the produce and manufacture of the Territories of my Royal Father, which will I trust as tokens of my veneration and esteem prove acceptable to your Imperial Majesty. Conceiving, that in the spirit of that wise and benevolent Policy, which has distinguished your Imperial Majesty's reign you may possibly direct the confidential Ministers of your Illustrious Government to communicate with His Majesty's Embassador upon matters relating to the mutual interests and prosperity of

both Empires, I have instructed and empowered the Embassador to receive the same and on his part to make certain representations, which have appeared to me connected with these important subjects, and so we wish Your Imperial Majesty Health Peace and true Felicity. Given at our Court at Carlton House the 19th Day of January 1816 in the 56th year of His Majesty's Reign—

Your Imperial Majesty's
Most affectionate Brother and cousin
signed / GEORGE P. R.

(2)

LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD CASTLEREAGH TO THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD AMHERST, AMBASSADOR, ETC. ETC. ETC. DATED 1ST JANUARY 1816.

MY LORD,

Considering the importance of the Commercial intercourse with China, as it affects the interests and comforts of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, and as it is connected with a large branch of the Public Revenue, His Royal Highness The Prince Regent, in order to encourage and promote that intercourse, and to settle other matters that it may be proper to discuss with the Chinese Government, having been pleased to nominate and appoint you His Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Pekin, has signified to me his Commands, to give you such Instructions as may appear most advisable for your guidance in the discharge of the duties confided to you in that capacity.

With that view it may be necessary I should apprise you that repeated representations have been made by the Supra Cargoes of the East India Company of the difficulties to which their trade has for some time been exposed, by the vexatious proceedings of the local Authorities at Canton; and that unless steps be taken without delay, there is reason to apprehend the failure of the Commerce altogether. Under this impression, the Supra Cargoes have urgently recommended that a Mission should proceed directly from the British Government to that of China, as the only remedy that was likely to be effectual, in order to place the intercourse upon a satisfactory and stable footing.

I cannot more explicitly convey to you the objects of your Mission than by communicating them in the terms by which they had been expressed in the representations of the Court of Directors to His Majesty's Government.

First.

Protection from the violence and injustice of the local Govern-

ment ; and in Order thereto, the privileges of the Company to be more accurately defined and detailed.

Second.

Security for the continuance of the Trade (whilst the prescribed Laws and Regulations be observed) against sudden and capricious interruptions, a security necessary where such great property is embarked, and where the Mercantile transactions requisite for its transfers and circulation cannot be carried on without confidence. The Supra Cargoes to be also secured in the privilege of employing and dealing with such Native Merchants as they may see fit.

Third.

Freedom from the intrusion of Chinese Officers into the Company's Factory. Permission to the Members of the Factory to employ Chinese Servants. Exemption from abusive contemptuous and insolent treatment from the Chinese Functionaries.

Fourth.

An open channel of communication between the Members of the Factory and some public Department or Tribunal at Pekin either by a British Resident there, or by Representations written in the Chinese language, and a confirmation of the right of using that Language in all Addresses and representations to the local Government.

In the pursuit of these objects you will regulate your conduct by such information as you may receive from the Com^{pys}. Supra-Cargoes, and other persons acquainted with the habits and customs of the Chinese Govt. and people ; and I am persuaded that in the knowledge and experience of the Supra Cargoes, you will find the means, under the exercise of your own judgment and discretion, of adopting a course the best calculated to effect the essential purposes of your Embassy.

In addition to the lights to be obtained from the sources to which I have adverted, you will be in possession of an account of the proceedings which took place upon the Embassy of the late Earl of Macartney ; and from a careful perusal of the Correspondence of His Lordship, you will receive the most valuable suggestions.

In the Month of October last, a Letter was addressed to the Viceroy of Canton, intimating the intention of H.R.H. the Prince Regent to send a Mission to the Emperor of China ; and the Company's Chief Supra Cargo, Mr. Elphinstone, was directed to deliver it to His Excellency.

In that Letter of which the enclosed is a copy, you will observe the steps that have already been taken ; and I trust, that upon your arrival in the China Seas, you will find no impedement to your progress.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased to order a Ship of War for your conveyance, and that of your Suite.

And although with regard to the precise course of your proceeding, you in a great degree will be governed by circumstances, I confidently hope that none will arise to render it necessary for you to touch at Canton, previous to your arrival at the Capital of the Chinese Empire.

In the expectation that the answer to the communication to the Government of China, through the Viceroy at Canton, to which I have already referred, being satisfactory, you will assume the character and public appearance of His Majesty's Ambassador; and proceed with as much ceremony as can be admitted, without causing a material delay, or incurring any unreasonable expence. You will procure an Audience as early as possible after your arrival at the Court of the Emperor, and conforming to all the ceremonies of that Court, which may not commit the honour of your Sovereign or lessen your own dignity, so as to endanger the success of your Mission.

Whilst I make this reserve, I am satisfied you will be too prudent and considerate to let any trifling punctilio stand in the way of the important benefits which may be obtained by engaging the favorable disposition of the Emperor and His Ministers; but you will take the earliest opportunity to declare that, as His Royal Highness the Prince Regent had entirely approved of the ceremonials performed by the Earl Macartney upon His Embassy to the August Father of the present Emperor, he had specially commanded you to adopt that precedent upon your Mission to His Illustrious Son.

You will represent to His Imperial Majesty that His Royal Highness The Prince Regent having succeeded to the exercise of the Royal Authority in consequence of the indisposition of His revered Father, had long sought for a favorable opportunity to communicate that event to the Emperor of China; that sensible how much the happiness of Nations depended upon the cultivation of the habits of peace the pacification of Europe had appeared to him to present a most auspicious occasion; that he had accordingly availed himself of it; and had sent you as his Ambassador with a Letter[1] to the Emperor, which you must request His Royal permission to deliver.

There are two subjects which are not unlikely to be brought before you by the Chinese Government; the one relates to the

[1] 'The Chairs were not furnished with a Copy of the Letter referred to. Mr. Thompson learning from Sir G. Staunton that he had a copy of it, requested the loan of it for insertion in this Book, which Sir George complied with having sent it this day. And a Copy of the Letter is now therefore preserved as entered in Pages 433 28th March 1822.' [Given on p. 278.]

conduct of the Captain of the Doris, and the other to the War in Nepaul.

In order to enable you to make such explanations as may be satisfactory to the Chinese Government upon the first point I have to refer your Lordship to the accompanying communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by which your proceedings in that respect will be regulated.

With regard to the second, you will represent it as a War of aggression on the part of the Nepaulese; that the Government General of Bengal had anxiously sought for some years to arrive at an amicable settlement of the differences with the Rajah of Nepaul; and when it was conceived that all disputes were likely to have been terminated, an attack was made by the Rajah upon the British subjects. That it then became an act of inevitable necessity to assert the honour, and provide for the future security of the British Possessions; and that, if the Rajah had suffered by the contest, it was an evil he had brought upon himself by his own violence and injustice.

You will avoid the discussion of this subject, unless it be forced upon you; and you will be aware that it must be managed with great circumspection and discretion, particularly if it should appear that the Chinese entertain any apprehension from our acquisitions bringing us into contact with the Dependencies of the Chinese Government.

With reference to the powers vested in you, and the other persons named in the Commission, you are to understand that it is the intention of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that you should associate with you in the execution of these powers the two first Gentlemen therin named; and in the event of the death or absence of either of them, Mr. Henry Ellis; but that you are to consider yourself at liberty to act upon your own responsibility, in case of any difference of Opinion between you and the other Commissioners. And I have further to apprise you, that as, under the terms of the Commission you have authority to treat, discuss, and conclude upon all matters and affairs connected with and relating to the material interests and prosperity of both Empires, either separately or jointly with the Commissioners therein named, should any circumstances come to your knowledge by which you are induced to believe that the association of all or any of the persons named in the said Commission, is likely to impede or defeat the objects for which it has been appointed, you are hereby specially authorized and directed to proceed accordingly by the exclusion of all, or by the selection of any of the persons named as your Associates in the said Commission.

In bringing under the consideration of the Chinese Government

the several objects to which I have called your attention in the preceding part of these Instructions, your Lordship will urge your representations with a due regard to the temper and disposition of that Government to which you are addressing them; and I am informed that it would be unadvisable in any degree to use the language of complaint.

In all matters upon which you may have to enter into discussion with the Chinese Government, you will find the most able assistance from Mr. Elphinstone, and from Sir George Staunton.

They have already conducted themselves under circumstances of great difficulty, with ability, firmness and discretion; and I am convinced that any opinions you may receive from them, will be dictated by the strongest sense of public duty.

If your Lordship should be able to obtain permission for the Company's Ships, in addition to the Port of Canton, to resort to some other Port to the Northward, it would be considered an acquisition of real importance to the Commerce with China; but there is nothing which would contribute more to the promotion of the objects of your Lordship's Mission, than the establishment of a Resident Minister as Agent at Pekin, through whom the concerns of the Subjects of the British Empire might be treated. In the event of an arrangement for that purpose being made, your Lordship will express the readiness of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to receive a Minister from the Government of China; and you will assure the Emperor that all proper honours will be paid to any person deputed in that character.

During the period of your residence in China, you will endeavour to obtain information respecting the Commerce, the policy, and the actual state of the Government of that Country: and you will especially direct your attention and that of the several Gentlemen who accompany you, to the discovery of any means of extending the consumption of British Manufactures, among the Chinese people.

The presents which you carry with you for the Emperor and the chief persons of His Court, you will distribute in the manner best calculated to forward the objects you have in view.

As it is expedient to provide for the contingency of your Death, and for the event of your returning to Europe before any person is sent to relieve you, or your occasional absence from the Capital, by having a person in the character of Resident Minister there, His Royal Highness is graciously pleased to grant dormant Credentials of Minister Plenipotentiary to Mr. Ellis, whom he has already appointed to be Secretary to the Embassy. It must at the same time be understood that such Credentials are to be used only in case of your death or absence.

During the continuance of your Embassy you will take every possible opportunity that may arise, of transmitting to me, for the information of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, an account of your proceedings, and also of communicating with Earl Moira, or the Governor General of Bengal for the time being, upon all subjects connected with the execution and objects of these Instructions.

I am etc. etc.
(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

(3)

LETTER FROM SECRET COMMERCIAL COMMITTEE TO THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD AMHERST, AMBASSADOR, ETC. ETC. ETC.

Dated 17th Janry. 1816.

MY LORD,

1. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having in consequence of the representations of the East India Company been graciously pleased to determine on the measure of sending an Embassy to the Emperor of China, and having selected your Lordship to fill the first place in that high Commission, you will doubtless receive from the Ministers of His Royal Highness, such Instructions as they may deem proper to be given by the Government of this Country, for the conduct of the delicate and important negociation committed chiefly to your Care. Yet, as the interests to be agitated in that Negociation, though ultimately those of the Nation, are more immediately the interests of the East India Company, and to them of the greatest value, we trust it will appear proper, that we also should, on behalf of the Company, address your Lordship on this occasion, & enter with rather more particularity than may perhaps suit a Public Dispatch, into the *Causes* which have led to the present measure of an Embassy to China; the *Objects* which, as we conceive, are now chiefly to be sought in a Negociation there; and such relative *Observations* as may be likely to afford any useful information or suggestion in the difficult work of treating with a Court which has shown singular indisposition to diplomatic intercourse and free communication, especially with Europeans.

2. The *Causes* which in the opinion of the Company's Administration in China, of the Court of Directors, and of the Prince Regent's Government, have rendered a Mission from this Country expedient, are the insolent, capricious, vexatious proceedings which the local Government of Canton has for some time past held towards the Company's Representatives there, by which they have obstructed, and embarrassed the conduct of the Company's Commerce, have shewn it to be exposed to

arbitrary interruption,—to uncertainty and insecurity. All which are highly prejudicial to concerns of such magnitude and importance to which the idea of permanence is essential. These proceedings have also rendered the task of the Supra-Cargoes in upholding the interests of their employers extremely difficult, and they beget a reasonable apprehension, lest the wanton exercise of power, in a Government little under the influence of public principle or private honour, should lead to an entire stoppage of the Trade, either by the immediate act of the local Government itself, or by compelling the Supra-Cargoes, on their part, to have recourse to that extreme measure, in order to avoid the still worse alternative of yielding to despotic imposition, which might be expected to derive further encouragement from submission.

3. The *Objects* to be aimed at in the Negotiation, which your Lordship will have to conduct, are generally in our humble judgment, a removal of the grievances which have been experienced, and exemption from them, and others of the like nature for the time to come; with the Establishment of the Company's Trade upon a secure, solid, equitable footing, free from the capricious arbitrary aggressions of the local Authorities, and under the protection of the Emperor, and the sanction of Regulations to be appointed by himself.

4. The details of the proceedings above alluded to, which occurred chiefly in the Years 1813 & 1814 will be found in the Consultations and Letters of the Supra-Cargoes of which a pretty large collection, extending to the early part of the present year, has been prepared, and is herewith transmitted to your Lordship.

5. A brief abstract of these details is contained in a Letter which we had the honour to address to Lord Buckinghamshire under date the 28th July last, in explanation of the reasons which appeared to recommend the interposition of the Sovereign of this Country with the Court of Pekin, and in the same Letter there is a succinct enumeration of the principal points to be proposed and contended for by the Embassy. Of this Letter, a Copy is also furnished to your Lordship; and the information contained in it and in the before mentioned larger Documents from the Supra-Cargoes, renders it unnecessary to go into any ample statement here of the same things. We shall therefore, only recapitulate shortly from the Letter, the principal aggressions of which the Supra-Cargoes complain, and the remedies which appear to be requisite.

First. Under the head of aggressions are to be noted.

1st. The attempt of the local authorities of Canton in the year 1813, to interfere in the case of Mr. Roberts with the Company's nomination of the managers of their Affairs, and, in

effect, to introduce a principle which would make the sanction of that Government necessary to such nomination, and go to place the whole of the European Trade with that Empire, under their control.

2dly. Another attempt of one of the Authorities in the same Year, to establish what is termed the System of Cohong; that is, to confine the Company's Dealings and the whole European Trade of Canton, to two or three Native Merchants, who would thus have the power of regulating the prices of purchases and Sales, or in other words a strict Monopoly; and would become most convenient and effectual instruments of the venal views of the Chinese Functionaries, to the consequent oppression and injury of all other Traders.

3dly. Prohibiting in the Year 1814, the Natives of China from serving in the English Factory, and from communication with the Supra-Cargoes.

4thly. Seizing, beating, and imprisoning the Chinese Linguist, who had been employed by the Supra-Cargoes, on the ground of his attachment to, and connection with them; and even reporting him to the Emperor to be engaged in treasonable practices with them.

5thly. Returning the Address of the Supra-Cargoes to the Canton Authorities unopened.

6thly. Requiring the Supra-Cargoes to address them always in the English Language, instead of the Chinese, which had been used of late Years with manifest advantage; and the discontinuance of which would leave it in the power of the Authorities to give what translations they pleased of the English Addresses.

7thly. The local Authorities in the Edicts promulgated by them, used very offensive language towards the Supra-Cargoes; and in their personal behaviour towards them, were contemptuous and insulting, proceeding so far in one case, as without any previous notice, to enter the English Factory which the Supra-Cargoes considered as a gross violation of the privilege, till then enjoyed, by the British Nation.

8thly. The conduct of the Local Government at length became so hostile as to render it, in the judgment of the Supra-Cargoes, their duty to proceed themselves to the suspension of the British Trade.

6. Your Lordship will observe from the Papers, that the foregoing transactions in the Year 1814, were by the Chinese Authorities, connected with certain operations of His Majesty's Frigate Doris on the Coast of China, which the Canton Govt. represented as a violation of the laws of Neutrality and the rights of the Empire. And their allegations on this head, though

strained beyond the truth, appear not to have been without foundation. Upon that circumstance, though extremely to be lamented, it is not our province to comment. We know that the Prince Regent's Ministers are quite alive to it, and doubt not they have taken proper measures to prevent the recurrence of so serious an inconvenience, and to prepare a satisfactory explanation of it through your Lordship to the Imperial Government, which may be very material in opening your Lordship's way to a successful representation of the grievances of which the Company complain.

7. We notice the subject here partly in order to remark, that the conduct of the local Government, respecting it, indicated not merely resentment of the alleged injury, but pre-existing hostility, and a venal partiality to the American Ships then at Canton, in which the Chinese Merchants were deeply interested; and thence used all their arts to influence the Government in their favour.

8. The Papers sufficiently shew that the vigorous determination of the Select Committee to stop the Company's Trade, had the effect of bringing, for that time, the local authorities in a good degree to reason. But it will also appear that the Committee placed no reliance upon the continuance of tranquillity. They have stated their conviction that if the disputes of 1814, could have been avoided, the strong measure they then adopted, would have been necessary a year or two afterwards. The Canton Government appear to entertain a permanent wish to bring the British Factory wholly under their own control. They could then carry on venal and collusive practices against the European Trade more securely, and deceive the Emperor from whom they now conceal the truth with less danger of discovery. These, however, are very cogent reasons, in addition to the other motives which have been stated, for opening a direct communication with His Imperial Majesty, by such an Embassy as your Lordship is now appointed to conduct.

9. Secondly—The *objects* to be sought are, in our opinion, principally those stated in the Letter to Lord Buckinghamshire, already mentioned, in which they are described nearly as follows.—

'*First.* Protection from the violence and injustice of the local 'Government, and, in order thereto, the privileges of the 'Company to be more accurately defined and detailed.

'*Second.* Security for the continuance of the Trade, (whilst we 'observe the prescribed Laws and Regulations) against sudden 'and capricious interruptions—a Security necessary where such 'great property is embarked; and the Mercantile transactions 'requisite for its transfer and circulation, cannot be carried on 'without confidence.'

'The Supra-Cargoes to be also secured in the privilege of 'employing and dealing with such Native Merchants as they may 'see fit.'

Third. 'A Regulation securing freedom from the intrusion of 'Chinese Officers into the Company's Factory; permission to the 'Members of the Factory to engage Chinese Servants; exemption 'from abusive, contemptuous, or insolent treatment from the 'Chinese Functionaries.'

Fourth. 'An open channel of communication between the 'Members of the Factory, and some public Department or 'Tribunal, at Pekin, either by a British Resident there, or by 'written representations in the Chinese Language, and a con-'firmation of the right of using that Language in all addresses or 'representations to the local or Imperial Government.'

Fifth. 'Other points which the experience of the Supra-'Cargoes in the transaction of business there may suggest as 'requiring melioration, and as fit matter of discussion. (Among 'these may be particularized the Regulation of the Article of 'duties in whatever way that shall be found requisite, and a just 'satisfaction for all claims on Native Merchants without sub-'jecting the Company's Trade to any New impost, in order to 'make up deficiencies of that nature.')

Sixth. 'Lastly to give such explanation as may be requisite 'respecting the affair of the Doris, or any other subject of a 'Political nature, on which it may be found expedient to 'touch.'

'The general scope of these propositions, is as before inti-'mated, to place the trade of this Country with China, on steady 'and fixed principles, which shall guard it from the fatal effects 'of an arbitrary capricious or unjust exercise of power, and if 'this benefit alone were obtained for the Trade upon its present 'scale, it would obviously be a very valuable acquisition, 'especially at a time when the steady continuance of the Com-'merce is become of such peculiar importance to the Company.'

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13. The Chinese Government seems to have entertained a distrust of Europeans from an early period, after their appearance in the Eastern Seas, although the Portuguese and Spaniards from having rendered service against the Pirates who infested the Southern Coast, received at first some indulgencies, of which the occupancy of Macao continues to the present day. The first attempt of the Dutch and English to establish a trade with China, succeeded ill. The former in pursuing their hostilities against the Portuguese, took from them the Island of Formosa, and thought of forcing a Trade with China, but failed; and afterwards lost that Island to the Chinese. Assisting however

the Tartars in their invasion of China, they obtained by degrees some Commercial intercourse with it through Batavia. But their conquest of Bantam in Java, about the year 1681 gave great umbrage, and 'caused all the Europeans in China to be looked on with an unfavourable eye'. Our East India Company within the first twenty Years of their Establishment made some efforts from Japan to open a Trade to China, but obtained no footing in that Country, owing no doubt to a fact stated by one of their Agents in 1614, that the Dutch committed robberies on Chinese Vessels in the name of the English. The attempt mentioned in Sir Geo. Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's Embassy, as having been made in 1634 (it should have been 1637) under Captain Weddall, did not proceed from the India Company, but from another body of Adventurers, licensed in violation of the Company's Charter by King Charles the First. It appears the conductors of that Expedition, proceeding with too little foresight, and led by ill treatment from the Chinese into some acts of successful hostility against them, were nevertheless, able to compromise these disputes, and afterwards to carry lading from China into India. This fact seems to refute the assertion of some Foreigners (an assertion unsupported as far as we know by our own Accounts) that the English were on this occasion declared Enemies to the Chinese Empire. It is, however, true that until after the Tartar conquest of China, the English intercourse with that Country was unfrequent, and only from Indian Ports.

14. The Company in the latter part of the 17th Century had successively temporary Factories at Tywan (in Formosa), Amoy and Chusan, all Islands on the Eastern Coast of China, the first then under its own Government, the others belonging to China. Suffering losses in the two former by the Convulsions of the times, and exactions in the last, they made various attempts to get an Establishment at Canton, in which they were counteracted by the Portuguese of Macao. Few Adventurers were sent directly from England to China until the formation of the New Company in 1698, when Ships were dispatched to Amoy, Limpo, Chusan and Canton. But in 1702, the Emperor ordered the English to quit the port of Chusan, and in 1705/6, an Edict of the same Emperor allotted Canton as the only Port for European Trade. This measure was obviously dictated by the same distrustful policy which had long influenced the Chinese Government. In the Islands the Europeans were less under control, and had more means of becoming independent. They were nearer also to the heart of the Empire. By collecting them all at Canton, a port of the Main land, accessible only by a long River of difficult Navigation, they were removed to one of the

extremities, placed immediately with strict limitation, under the eye of a Viceroy, who had the power of the Continent at his Command ready to crush their first insubordinate movement.

15. After this system had continued about fifty years, during which the Supra-Cargoes of the Company had gone and returned with the Ships, they were permitted to become stationary in the Shipping Season at Canton, and the rest of the Year at Macao. Thus things continue to the present time; and in the last thirty Years, the Company's Trade has been increased more than four fold. They now send annually to Canton from 18 to 20 great Ships, equal to Sixty-fours; and by them bring from thence about 30 Millions of pounds of Tea. The trade has become proportionately important to the Chinese, and must form a considerable Article of National industry. It may be presumed therefore that the Government cannot deliberately wish to lose it, whilst it may be maintained with safety. And if upon the return of the Flags of Foreign Europe and America to Canton, they should conceive the idea of throwing a great part of our present Exports of Tea into the channel of other Nations; thereby to reduce our consequence, they might be told that if those other Nations possessed sufficient Capital, yet this Country would not receive supplies at second hand, and thence the consumption of Tea which is larger in the British Dominions than in all the rest of Europe and America would decline, to the ultimate loss of China itself.

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19. We are however aware that the public interest is not the only one likely to be guarded in the discussion of this subject. The local Functionaries of Canton, their patrons at Court, and all who look to succeed to such situations, may be expected to do their utmost to stifle the truth, to discredit the complaints of the Company's Servants, to misrepresent their conduct, to baffle inquiry, and, in a word, to defeat the objects of the Mission. This may prove to be the greatest danger your Lordship will have to encounter. It is one respecting which detailed minute advice cannot well be offered from this Country. The experience and local knowledge of the Company's Servants who are to be employed with your Lordship in the Embassy will here be especially required; We doubt not also greatly useful: and we are persuaded your Lordship will avail yourself of the aids to be derived from them; and of all occurring circumstances, to manage this most delicate and important part of the Negotiation in the happiest manner. It may perhaps be found sufficient without going into any particular statement of past grievances, in the first place, to solicit in general the protection of His Imperial Majesty to the Subjects and Commerce of this Country,

and then to bring forward propositions for the regulation of the Trade which shall be calculated to prevent such evils in future; and even in proceeding to the subject in this way a cautious and gradual approach to it may be requisite.

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27. Upon the ground of this argument and of general justice, of the vast property embarked in the Trade, and the necessity of certainty and security in carrying it on, of the dignity of Great Britain, which entitles its subjects to honourable treatment, and in all other Countries secures it to them; on the ground in fine of the mutual interests of both Nations, we conceive the Emperor may be solicited to grant by some authentic Act or Regulation, security and protection, on solid and recognized principles, to the Trade and the Representatives of the Company in all the particulars above enumerated, and any others which the Supra-Cargoes may find just reason to add.

28. Exemption from all the degrading treatment before described of the local Authorities both in respect to the conduct of the Trade, and the persons of the Company's Servants, is a thing so reasonable in itself, and so consonant to the true interest of Government, that it would seem only to require the fair proposal of it to the Emperor: But in some other of the points already noticed, and those material to the welfare of our China system, the Emperor himself and his Council may not be so ready to acquiesce. We allude to the attempt made first to interfere with the Company's Appointments of European Servants for the management of their Affairs; and secondly to throw the whole Native Agency in those Affairs into the hands of two or three Individuals, who would thus become the Arbiters of the prices of purchases and Sales; and in short Monopolists of the whole Trade as has been already explained. This last project is not one of new invention, it has been long entertained by the local Authorities, brought forward at different times, and once it had a temporary success under the denomination of Cohong: But that association was by the efforts of the Supra-Cargoes, abolished in the Year 1770. The recent attempt however is peculiarly formidable, because it is understood to have originated in an Edict from Pekin, which whether procured or not by the intrigues of the people of Canton, engages the Imperial Government as a party in it. It is a scheme, we are assured, fraught with extreme danger to our interests, and therefore necessarily to be deprecated and opposed. But it will require all the sagacity and delicacy of the Ambassador to resist it, if in progress; or if unhappily it has been enforced, to obtain its abolition.

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30. There is still another point noticed in our Letter to Lord Buckinghamshire, which is obviously of great importance, the Establishment of an European Resident on the part of the Company or of Government at Pekin. We are aware that a proposition to this effect was made to Lord Macartney, and positively refused in the above-mentioned Letter from the late Emperor to His Majesty. Perhaps the same objections may still exist on the part of the Chinese Court and the proposition must necessarily be obnoxious to all the local authorities, and their connections at Pekin. But the measure would so essentially contribute to the preservation of good understanding between the two Governments, the repression of mal-administration at Canton and the general benefit of the Trade, in which so many thousands of the subjects of China are concerned, that it is clearly for the interest of the Government of that Country to adopt it; and it may be represented to them that as from the want of prescribed means of free communication between the Canton Authorities and the English Residents it has happened that selfish Men have found opportunities of misrepresenting the English Character and views; so all evils of this nature can be best obviated by the residence of an European near the seat of Government. We are satisfied your Lordship's judgment will appreciate so highly the advantage which would result from the concession of such a point to the Company, that your utmost efforts and those of the Gentlemen associated with you, will be exerted to accomplish it. Much however as we appreciate this object, and wish for its attainment, it is possible you may find the Imperial Court in a disposition less likely to recede from its former cautious policy, than to entertain renewed jealousy of any proposition tending to the extension of our footing in China. Should this indeed appear to be the case, we must leave it to your Lordship's judgment whether to bring forward the present question at all. For most desirable as success would certainly be, it must be better not to make the attempt, if the only effect should be to excite a suspicion which might render the obtainment of the grand objects of the Mission more difficult. On the supposition that the consent of the Chinese Government could not be procured to the Establishment of an English Resident at Pekin, it has been suggested to propose to them the admission on the part of His Majesty of an English Consul at Canton, as likely to improve the means of Communication, and to prevent or more easily obviate differences and misunderstandings, between the local authorities and the Supra-Cargoes. We believe the measure would be calculated to serve these ends, provided the Consul were allowed to mediate for the purposes just mentioned; and we should be much pleased to obtain even

such a concession. But if the Consul were to have no other powers than those now possessed by the Consuls whom the Americans and Prussians appoint, they would amount only to such powers as our Chiefs have always exercised. And we should fear that with respect to powers of a superior description they may probably be viewed by the Chinese with the same disclination with which they regard every other attempt to meliorate our condition in that Country. They might object to it also as establishing a kind of Arbiter on the part of the King between his subjects, and those of China ; and perhaps an Officer bearing a Commission from His Majesty would find it difficult, without seeming to compromise the honour of his Sovereign, to submit to things which the Representatives of the Company have deemed it expedient to bear with. Still however the suggestion is worthy of being discussed with the Members of the Select Committee : And if your Lordship finds that it is fit to be pursued, and that it may be acted upon with any hope of success, we trust your best offices will be employed to bring it to effect ; in which case we hold it to be perfectly clear that the powers of the Consulate should be vested in the President of the Select Committee for the time being ; because placed in any other hands, they might rather divide and embarrass than strengthen the British Authority there.

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34. We pretend not to determine whether the same line should be followed with respect to the Doris Frigate. But as the Canton Government has, not without reason, openly complained of the violation of their rights by that Ship as we understand, you will be authorized by the Prince Regent's Government frankly to make the admissions which may be proper on this head ; and it must be desirable to remove apprehensions of any similar occurrence in future. We venture to express a doubt whether it may not be expedient voluntarily to advert to the subject.

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43. It becomes necessary however to notice here that long after the composition of the Embassy was fixed, His Majesty's Ministers began to entertain serious doubts of the expediency of forming the Embassy in that manner. These doubts arose from a consideration of the fastidious character of the Chinese Court,—of the inferior rank it assigns to Men of the Commercial Class, in which light only it would regard Messrs. Elphinstone and Staunton, of the disputes which had arisen with our Factory chiefly represented by these two Gentlemen,—and of the personal accusation advanced by the Chinese against Sir Geo. Staunton from all which, apprehensions began to be entertained, that a Mission so composed might be unacceptable to the Chinese Govt.

and the objects of it be endangered at the very outset. Other persons, who were acquainted with the temper of that Government, and also entertained a very favourable opinion of the Gentlemen in question, expressed sentiments of the same nature. They thought such an association would lower the estimation of the Embassy in the eyes of the Chinese; indicate at once that it proceeded in a great measure from the Company, and probably suggest also the nature of the objects it had in view; thus adding perhaps dangerously to the difficulties of an arduous undertaking. These opinions excited the alarm of the Prince Regents Ministers, who fearful lest the success of the Mission should be marred by a determined adherence to the arrangement first adopted, and thinking the great depending Interests of the Company and the Nation ought not to be hazarded for the sake of maintaining that arrangement at all events, they, as we understand, have determined that in the Commission, appointing your Lordship, Mr. Elphinstone, and Sir Geo. Staunton, the Ambassadors of the Prince Regent, a clause shall be inserted making the Agency of the two Gentlemen last named conditional, that is to be exercised only, provided it can be done without injury to the objects in view, without the danger of giving umbrage to the Imperial Court, or of raising additional obstacles in treating with it. Though we are inclined to believe that nothing less than the fear of frustrating the design of the Mission would dispose the Court of Directors to give their assent to this change; and are sure, as to ourselves, that such a consideration alone could induce us to acquiesce in it, yet judging also that if it were convenient to introduce into the Court any discussion on so delicate a point, they would not think it their duty to risk the whole success of the Mission, or rather to prevent its proceeding, after being so far advanced, by contending at all events for the first arrangement and the sentiments by which we conceive they would be actuated being also our own we have not felt it allowable to oppose the modification of the Commission, which as emanating from the Crown, cannot, if issued at all, issue in terms contrary to the Will of the Sovereign. It may be observed however that the change must be in any case less essential, because there was a stipulation from the beginning that the first Ambassador was to possess an extraordinary power of acting on his own responsibility in opposition to the sentiments of his Colleagues. And we are so satisfied of the Public Spirit of Messrs. Elphinstone and Staunton, as to believe that if they saw the interest of the Embassy likely to suffer by their being joined in it, they would themselves chuse to decline acting. We have an equally strong persuasion that it will be your Lordship's wish if possible to have their able assistance as coadjutors in the Work you have

undertaken. But if it should be thought on the whole, expedient that they should not act as Members of the Embassy, the Commission constituting your Lordship and these Gentlemen joint Ambassadors, will not be extinct, but remain dormant; and it may perhaps be practicable for your Lordship to consult with them as Coadjutors though they do not act ostensibly as such. However it may be found expedient to settle this point, the services of Sir George Staunton as the chief medium of communication between the Chinese Government and the Embassy, will be so essential, that we trust nothing will deprive the Company of the benefit of them even if they should be rendered without his being a Member of the Embassy.

(4)

Outline of the Ceremonies to be observed on the English Embassador's (Tributary Envoys etc.) presenting the Peaou-wăn, or official document from his Sovereign.

About 3 or 4 o'Clock in the morning of that Day arrangements shall be made for the occasion in the great Kwang-ming-tien, (Hall or Palace of Light & Splendour). Certain Bands of Music shall attend in the Palace. There, likewise certain Princes and Royal Personages shall assemble together with the Embassador and his Suite. Cushions to sit on, shall be placed in the Palace.

About 5 O'clock, His Majesty shall with profound Veneration be requested to put on the Dragon robes, and to ascend the Throne in the Palace of Light and Splendour.

The Princes, the Royal Personages, and the Attendant Officers shall be attired in certain Court Dresses.

The great Officers of State who attend in the Imperial Presence, The Kings and Dukes who attend on His Majesty, shall be arranged in two Wings, standing.—

The Imperial Body guard in their Leopard-tail dresses shall be drawn up in two wings within the Palace.—

When the Princes, Royal Personages and other Officers are arranged, the Band shall strike up the tune Lung-ping (a glorious subjugation or tranquility) and the great Officers of State shall with profound veneration conduct His Majesty to the Throne, after which the Music shall stop.

When the Officers around His Majesty's person have proclaimed the word Peen ('A Whip or to Whip') The Band shall strike up the Tune Che-ping (a subjugating or tranquilizing sway) and the Officer Soo (viz. Soo-Ta-jin & Kwang-Tajin Conductors of Y^e^ Embassy) with Kwang-hway, accompanied by an Officer of The Le-poo (or Board of Rites and Ceremonies) and an Imperial Astronomer, shall conduct the English Embassador,

his Deputies & Suite, to present, with profound veneration, the Peaou-wăn.

They shall enter at the right hand gate, and proceed to the west-side of the Passage, At the foot of the altar of the Moon, without the Hall of Light and Splendour.

The Crier shall proclaim 'Be arranged', The Embassador & his Suite shall arrange themselves in Ranks. The crier shall proclaim 'Kneel'. The Embassador & Suite shall then kneel & the Music shall stop.

The Crier shall proclaim 'Present the Peaou-wăn'! The Embassador shall most respectfully present it to *Ho-lih-che-e-too*, (Perhaps lower area) who having received it, shall advance by the middle path to the inside of the Hall, where kneeling at Te-ping (or the level ground) he shall offer it up to the Officer Meen-gan, who having received it shall ascend by the middle steps to the Imperial presence, & kneeling, present it to His Majesty.

After this the Officer Soo, and the others shall conduct the Embassador & Suite through the western folding door, to the Inside of the Hall, where at Te-ping, they shall kneel down, & wait till his Imperial Majesty confers upon the King of their Country a Joo-ee (Joo-ee 'As wish or desire', i. e. May all your wishes be gratified). The Officer Meen-gan shall receive it, & deliver it to the Embassador, putting authoritatively such questions as His Majesty may direct.

These forms being over, Soo shall conduct the Embassador & Suite out by the same door at which they entered. Outside of the door, Soo shall respectfully take charge of the Joo-ee for the Embassador, and then as before, lead the Persons of the Embassy to the west side of the Altar of the Moon. The crier shall proclaim 'Be arranged'. All the Persons shall then arrange themselves, & the Music shall strike up.

It shall next be proclaimed 'Advance & Kneel', The Embassador & Suite shall all advance & Kneel. The Crier shall proclaim 'Bow the head to the ground & arise'. The Embassador & Suite shall then, looking to the upper end of the Palace, perform the Ceremony of thrice kneeling & nine times bowing the Head to the ground. This ceremony being ended the Music shall stop. The Princes & Royal Personages who are permitted to sit, shall conduct the Embassador & Suite to a place, behind the western line of Persons, where they shall perform once the ceremony of kneeling and bowing to the ground and then sit down. (It does not appear that any Chinese joined in the above Prostration. Translator.)

His Majesty shall then have Tea introduced. The Princes, the Embassador & Suite shall kneel & bow the head to the ground

once. After His Majesty has drank the Tea, they shall return to their seats.

The attending Officers shall then confer on all who sit in the Palace Nae-cha (Milk-tea) for which all shall perform once the Ko-tow (or ceremony of kneeling & prostration). After drinking Tea they shall also perform it.

The immediate attendants on His Majesty shall then proclaim the word Peen, and the Princes, the Embassador and Suite shall rise up. The same word shall next be proclaimed below the Steps, & the Band shall strike up the Tune Heen-ping (Subjugation or Tranquility Manifested) during which His Majesty shall withdraw to the inner apartment, & the Music shall stop.

The Princes, the Embassador and Suite shall all retire—Soo and Kwang-hway shall lead the Embassador and Suite to the outside of Tung-to-yuen (The garden of social pleasure) to await there his Majesty's arrival. When he has arrived and sat down they shall be conducted to the western Piazza to see a Play, and to receive the food and the presents to be bestowed by His Majesty.

The Days of Banquet and Audience of leave were directed to be conducted with ceremonies similar to the above.

(5)

Paper respecting the Embassy, drawn up by the Emperor

A vermillion Edict (i. e. a paper written with the Emperors own hand) has been respectfully received (and is as follows).

'On this occasion the English Embassador sent to convey tribute, landed at the mouth of the river leading to Tien-tsin. It was especially ordered that Soo-ling-gih and Kwang-hwang should communicate authoritatively the Imperial pleasure, that a Banquet should be conferred, and he (the Embassador) be ordered to return thanks for the banquet, by performing the ceremony of three Kneelings, and nine Knocks of the head upon the ground. If it were performed according to the prescribed rule, then to bring (the Embassy) to Pekin the same day. If the Embassador did not know how to perform the proper ceremony, then to report to the Emperor, and wait his pleasure.

Their Ships were not to be caused to depart. They were to return from Tien-tsin by the way they came and to return to their Country by Sea.

Soo-ling-gih and Kwang-hwang purposely acted contrary to the Imperial pleasure and brought onward the Embassy—and they connived at their Ships going away in a clandestine manner. The fault of these two men, consists in this.

Because the Affair was not yet settled Ho-she-tae and Moo-kih-tang-gih were ordered to go and meet the Embassy at Tung-chow, and there exercise them in the ceremony. So the 6th day of the 7th Moon, was the period limited. If within this period they performed the ceremony, then to bring them forward immediately; if when the time was elapsed they had still not observed the proper forms, then to report to the Emperor, and wait for his pleasure.

On the 5th Ho-she-tae, and Moo-kih-tang-gih, sent a confused obscure report, and on the 6th brought forward the Embassy.

I, the Emperor, at half past one o'clock, descended to the Kin-ching-Tien "Hall of diligent Government" and called here two men to an interview, to interrogate them respecting the performance of the Ceremony. These two men pulled off their Caps,[1] and dashed their heads against the ground, saying the Ceremony had not yet been practised. When they were again asked "Since the ceremony was not performed, why did you not report?" Ho-she-tae said "Tomorrow morning, when they enter to see your Majesty, they must be able to perform it agreeably to the proper form"—

In this, the fault of these two men was the same (or equal to) the two who preceded them.

On the morning of the seventh, after Breakfast, at half past five O'clock, I, the Emperor, dictated my pleasure, that I would ascend the Hall and call the Embassador to an audience.

Ho-she-tae the first time reported to me that the Embassador could not travel fast; when he arrived at the Gate, my pleasure should again be requested.

The next time he reported that the principal Embassador had a Bowel Complaint—a Short delay was necessary.

The third time, he reported that the principal Embassador was so ill, he could not come to an interview. I then ordered that the principal Embassador should go to his Lodging, and a Physician be conferred on him, to effect his cure. I then ordered the Assistant Embassadors to enter to an interview.

The fourth time (Ho) reported, that the assistant Embassadors were both sick—that it must be deferred till the principal Embassador was recovered, and they would come together to an interview.

Chung-Kwo (China the central Nation) is the Sovereign of the whole world; for what reason should contumely and arrogance like this, be endured with quiet temper! I therefore sent down my pleasure to expel those Embassadors, and send them again to their own Country, without punishing the high crime which they had committed.

[1] By these acts, confession and deep contrition are expressed.

As before, Soo-ling-gih and Kwang-hwang were ordered to escort them to Canton on board their Ships.

Within these few days having called my courtiers to an interview, I began to find out, that the Embassador had travelled from Tung-chow, directly to a room of the Palace, and that he had been on the road all night. He said, "The Court Dresses, in which to enter and see His Majesty are yet behind they have not come up yet, How can I in my ordinary garments, lift up my eyes to the Great Emperor!"

Why did not Ho-she-tae, when he saw me (the day before) state the circumstances; or if he forgot, why did he not during the evening add to what he had before reported; or the next day state it early? All these ways he might have taken; but to the last moment when I was about to ascend the Hall of Audience, he never stated clearly these circumstances. The crime of these two men (Ho & Moo) is heavier than that of Soo-ling-gih.

Had they previously stated matters clearly to me, I must have changed the time for calling (the Embassador) to an interview, and for his completing the ceremony. I never supposed that a stupid statesman would injure affairs to this extent.

I the Emperor have really not the face (I am ashamed) to appear before the Ministers beneath me, who are labourers for the State. It only remains for me to take blame to myself. As for the crime of these four men, when the Board has deliberated and sent up their Opinion, I shall again decide.

Take this Imperial declaration, and proclaim it fully to those within China and beyond it; Let the Mung-Koo Kings, Dukes and so forth, know it.'

Respect this.

(6)

The Emperor's reply to the King was enclosed in a hollow piece of Bamboo neatly carved the openings of which were carefully pasted over with paper bearing the impression of a Chinese Seal—Lord Amherst privately opened the Bamboo case when the Emperor's Letter appeared written in the Chinese and Latin languages on a sheet of many folds of Yellow Paper. Mr. Morrison by the permission of Lord Amherst copied the Chinese Version, and having carefully translated it into English, it appeared, on a comparison with the Latin translation, that the high tone of superiority and contemptuous expression towards his Majesty's authority as well as towards his Embassador were in some places either omitted or conveyed in softer terms than the meaning of the Original warranted. However conciliatory may have been

the intention of the Missionary, who furnished the Latin version of this extraordinary document, it would surely have been subject of deep regret that His Majesty's Government or our Honorable Employers should have been misinformed by any well meant palliation of the coarse language, in which this government has not scrupled to address the British Sovereign. It is therefore a matter of the less regret, that our records will not contain a Copy of the Emperor's Letter in the Latin Language, since we have been favoured with the more accurate Translation of Mr. Morrison recorded below :

The Supreme Potentate [1] who has received from Heaven and revolving Nature (the government of the World),[2] issues an Imperial Mandate to the King of England, with which let him be thoroughly acquainted.

Your Country situated remotely beyond a vast Ocean tenders a sincere offering of Devotedness and turns with ardent affection to the transforming influences [3] which emanate from this land.

Formerly in the 58th Year of Kien-Lung, when the reign of the Exalted, the Honorable, & the Immaculate Emperor approached its close you sent an Embassador across the Seas to our Palace.

At that time your Embassador with veneration and respect performed the ceremony without excess or defect, and in the observance of the forms of decorum he was enabled to look up and receive Imperial favour and affection; to see His Majesty, to be entertained at a Banquet numerous and elegant, and to have gifts conferred upon him.

This year You O King again sent an Embassador to present a written representation, and provided with the productions of (your) Territory to introduce to me.

I the Emperor considering, that You O King were truly sincere in feelings of respect and obedience was exceedingly pleased; caused forthwith former Records to be examined and regularly enjoined a great [4] number of Officers to wait for your Embassador, that on the day of his arrival he might respectfully see the Imperial Person, and be entertained with a Banquet in all things exactly according to the Ceremonies of the Preceding Reign.

[1] 皇旁 commonly translated *Emperor*—that word, however, does not appear to be strong enough to correspond with the scope of the passage.

[2] The words in brackets are supplied, but fully implied in the Chinese.—It is in virtue of this assumption of universal control, that he presumes to write an 敕諭 Imperial Mandate to the King of England.

[3] 仪慕. It is maintained that the principles of right reason and social order were first and best understood in China, which is situated in the middle of the earth, and that the tribes and nations, which occupy the extremities of the world, turn to China as the centre of civilization.

[4] viz. a hundred. [Notes by Mr. Morrison, the translator.]

Your Embassador began to hold intercourse at *Tien-tsin.* I appointed Officers to be there to confer an Imperial Banquet. Behold! When your Embassador was to return thanks for the Banquet he would not be obedient to the prescribed ceremonies.

I the Emperor in reference to a petty Officer of State from a remote Country did not deem forms and ceremonies of great worth; it was a matter, in which indulgence and compassionate forbearance might be shewn and therefore especially with your Embassador—and when he arrived at Peking to tell him, that in the 58th Year of *Kien Lung* Your Embassador in performing the ceremony completely (or always) knelt and bowed the head to the ground according to the stated forms; upon this occasion how could a change be admitted?

Your Embassador told my great officers face to face, that when the time came he would obey and would perform the kneeling and bowing the head to the ground; that no excess or falling short of the established forms should occur.

My great Officers in conformity to and reliance on this declaration reported it to me, and I sent down my pleasure, that on the 7th day of the 7th Moon Your Embassador should be ordered to see the Imperial Person; that on the 8th in the great Hall of Light and Splendour a Banquet should be conferred and rewards bestowed, and again, that in the Garden of Mutual Pleasure food should be conferred, that on the 9th leave should be taken and on the same day it should be granted to ramble amongst the Hills of Ten Thousand Ages.[1] That on the 11th at the Gate of Great Concord rewards should be conferred; after which (he) should repair to the Board of Rites to a Banquet, and that on the 12th he should be sent to proceed on his journey. The Day of performing the ceremony and the etiquette to be observed my great Officers all previously stated to your Embassador.

On the 7th the appointed time for your Embassador to see the Imperial person, he had arrived at the Palace, and I the Emperor was about to enter the Hall of Audience.

The Ambassador suddenly affirmed that he was exceedingly ill and could not move a step. I thought it a possible case, that the Embassador was taken suddenly ill, and therefore ordered the assistant Embassador to enter and see me; but both the assistant Embassadors also affirmed, that they were Ill. This was rudeness, which was never exceeded. I did not inflict severe chastisement, but sent them away the same day with an order to return to their own Country.

As Your Embassador did not see the Imperial Person, it was also inexpedient to send in the written representation from

[1] Wan-show-shan, the park next beyond the park of Yuen-ming-yuen.

You O King. It is in the state it was carried back by your Embassador.

It is considered, that You O King from the distance of several times ten thousand *Le* respectfully presented a written representation and duly offered up Presents—that Your Embassador's inability to communicate in your behalf with profound veneration and sincere devotedness is his fault; the disposition of profound respect and obedience felt by you O King I indeed really perceive.

I took from amongst the articles of tribute only Maps Landscape prints, & Portraits, and highly commend your feelings of sincere devotedness just the same as if I had received them all. There were conferred upon you O King a white corundum *Jooee* (emblem of prosperity); a String of Court Beads; Two large Purses and eight small ones to manifest tender and indulgent treatment.

Your Country is distant from the central and flourishing Empire (China) too remotely—To send as Embassador such a distance over the waves of the sea is not an easy business. Further Your Embassador cannot understand and practice the Rites of Ceremony of the Central Nation. The subject involves a severe labour of the lips and tongue, to hear which is by no means pleasant.

The Celestial Empire does not value things brought from a distance—All the curious and ingenious productions of Your Country also it does not look upon as rare pearls.

That You O King should preserve your people in peace and be attentive to strengthen the limits of your territory, that no separation of that which is distant from that which is near should take place is what I the Emperor in reality highly commend.

Hereafter there is no occasion for you to send an Embassador so far, to be at the trouble, passing over mountains and crossing seas. If you can but pour out the heart in dutiful obedience it is not necessary at stated times to come to Court, ere it be pronounced that you turn towards the transforming influences (which emanate from this Land).

This Imperial Mandate is now given that you may for ever obey it.

Kea-king—21st Year 7th Moon 20th Day
(11th September 1816).

(7)

Minute of Sir George Thomas Staunton

January 18th, 1817.

The President begs to record the following minute:

In the interesting and important narrative, which the Embassador has addressed to the Select Committee of the Proceedings of the Embassy, a peculiar stress is laid upon an opinion, which upon His Excellency's requisition the President felt it to be his Duty to give relative to the propriety of the performance of the Chinese Ceremony. Without attempting in this place to enter at large into the merits of a question involving so many considerations, and upon which he hardly believes there exists at present a dissenting voice, the President merely wishes to record a few remarks connected with the particular period, at which his opinion on the subject was given.

It will be recollected that His Excellency in concurrence with Mr. Ellis is stated to have brought his mind to an acquiescence in the performance of the ceremony in the event of the President not deeming such an acquiescence detrimental to the Interests of the Company, and that His Excellency took this resolution in consequence of certain encouragements held out by Ho in the event of compliance, and of certain mysterious threatenings from other Quarters of dangers impending on us and our Trade in the event of non-performance. The Question thus put to the President was certainly one of extreme delicacy and importance; and as it then appeared to stand upon a much more serious footing than the mere reception or rejection of the Embassy he felt it incumbent on him to reconsider it with the utmost caution and deliberation.

The encouragements held out by *Ho* were however easily disposed of. They were not voluntarily given but elicited by our own remarks. They proceeded from a man, who was evidently extremely anxious as well as personally interested to gain his point, a point, which he had previously tried to accomplish by intimidating and gross insults without effect—(for instance his engaging the Embassador in a conference *standing*, asserting loudly that the Emperor was the Sovereign of *all* Nations, and threatening our immediate dismissal if we persevered in refusing to perform a ceremony, which the Emperor in *that character* required from us). They were lastly in themselves vague, inconclusive, and unworthy of credit, being merely confined to assurance of a gracious reception, the ungracious nature of which we already could pretty well anticipate from information gained from other quarters, and to his promises of

personal aid and friendship in the subsequent furtherance of our views, promises, which it was easy to make and still more easy to violate, and which even in courts much less false and corrupt than that of China would hardly have been relied on.

The attempts, which had been made at intimidation, although the impolicy of giving any room to the supposition of our being liable to that species of influence was obvious, could not be viewed on the other hand without some uneasiness. We could not be quite sure that the disappointed Pride and careless ignorance of the Despot might not lead to the adoption of some hasty measure of retaliation against the English and their Commerce, which could not easily be retracted—Against this risk however we had the obvious interests of all the Provincial Mandarins and the cooler judgment of the Court Ministers, through whom the Emperor would necessarily have to act for our guarantee—the utmost injury to our interests which could result from opposition, was probably a temporary one, while that of submission to intimidation being a dereliction of principle was certain and permanent.

On the whole therefore it appears to the President, that to have acquiesced in the performance of the ceremony at that period, thereby abandoning the precedent of Lord Macartney, and adopting in a considerable degree that of the Dutch Embassy, would have been to have purchased degradation and disgrace without even the shew of an equivalent, the result of which would in his opinion have fatally shaken that confidence, which we have with considerable success established at Canton in the firm adherence to principle which distinguishes the British Character—a confidence, which is our best ally in all our differences with the Chinese, and probably our only preservative against such a systematic oppression on the part of the Local Authorities as would necessarily terminate (in the present state of British feeling) in a rupture of the intercourse between the two Countries.

As the term *ceremony* may mislead some persons into the idea that a *mere* ceremony was contended for, it may be not useless to notice, that the Embassador and commissioners at all times professed readiness to perform the ceremony as a *mere* ceremony, provided the Chinese would by a suitable authentic act of their own disavow the inadmissible principle, upon which it must otherwise appear to have been exacted and which principle it would in the President's opinion have proved in the case already stated degrading and disgraceful to have professed by such an outward act to acknowledge.

signed / GEO. THOS. STAUNTON.

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, Bt.

(8)

THE PASSAGE OF THE BOGUE FORTS

Captain Maxwell of H.M. Ship *Alceste* arrived in town yesterday, and from the several conversations which we have held with him, we have collected the following particulars of the proceedings of the Mandarins below and at the Bogue and of the unwarrantable attack made on His Majesty's Frigate at Chuenpee even while below the place of anchorage allotted for the Men of War.

On the arrival of the *Alceste* off Lintin a Mandarin with a Blue Button went on board stating himself to be deputed by the Viceroy—He met with a civil reception from Captain Maxwell, who requested him to communicate to the Viceroy his Wish to enter the Bogue and fair promises were given that the requisite permission should be obtained—In a day or two another Mandarin visited the *Alceste* who likewise declared himself sent by the Viceroy—On Captain Maxwell observing that he had already communicated with an Officer of Rank who had promised to convey his wishes to the Government, he was informed that the Mandarin who had first come on board was not authorized in what he had done or said—Captain Maxwell instantly requested from this person some proof by which he might be certain of *his* authority for visiting the Ship, on which he gave strong assurances, and as a proof would proceed directly to the Viceroy and return with an answer—On being desired to fix the period of his return he named five days. To this delay Captain Maxwell at first objected but at length acquiesced, and describing his Ship as much distressed from bad weather stated the necessity of his proceeding into smooth water within the Bogue—The mandarin then departed renewing his promises of returning with a reply from the Viceroy within the stated period—Captain Maxwell remained for six days at Lintin without further remonstrances though many insults were offered to the British Flag—Provisions were only to be procured at night when they were brought on board by the Compradores, whose fears prevented their attendance during the day—Armed Boats were stationed round the Ship, though at a greater distance than was attempted with the *General Hewitt*—These boats at length moved themselves, but were afterwards met by the Frigate at Chuenpee.

Captain Maxwell having remained at Lintin a day beyond the period agreed upon with the Mandarin, weighed anchor and proceeded to Chuenpee, where a flotilla of Boats was stationed, the Commander of which sent a low Chinese ordering the *Alceste* to anchor or a gun would be fired—this imperious Mandate was scarcely delivered when the Gun was fired and several others.

As they were not shotted Captain Maxwell received them as complimentary and returned a Salute—Shortly after however several Shot were fired from the boats and Forts and this while the frigate was in a situation when the charge of committing an error would not be alledged in defence of this violent aggression as the *Alceste* was below the acknowledged and prescribed anchorage for Ships of War—Captain Maxwell aware of his superiority over these Boats crowded with men and incapable of defence abstained from making a return which the treatment he had experienced would fully have authorized and merely for the honor of the flag fired a Shot over the Commandant's Boat which had the effect of silencing the flotilla. The Wind failing and the tide having nearly done the *Alceste* anchored, and it is here to be observed that one of the Merchants has informed us that a Report has been made that the exertions and fire of the Squadron compelled the Ship to desist. In the evening the Wind proving favorable the *Alceste* got under weigh it appearing to Captain Maxwell that the best course now to be pursued was to maintain the privilege granted to His Majesty's Ship *Lion* in 1793, he instantly determined to proceed within the Bogue.—As soon as the frigate weighed, a signal was made from the boats Lights were displayed at the Forts and a brisk cannonade from ninety or a hundred Guns was commenced, one shot fell on board the *Alceste* and two lodged in the Bows of the Ship—.

When the Frigate was within half musquet shot of the Forts a broadside was poured in on which the lights disappeared and the Forts on the Starboard side were silenced. The Fort on the larboard hand on which the Guns could not be brought to bear continued firing for some time and the *Alceste* anchored at Second Bar without further molestation. The cautious, judicious and firm conduct of Captain Maxwell will we trust prove highly beneficial to the Trade and convince the Viceroy that such insults are not to be practised on His Majesty's Ships. By the conduct of the Merchants it appears evident that it is the intention of the Viceroy to hush up the affair and not to acknowledge the firing of Guns. This Officer has undoubtedly exceeded his Authority and if an opportunity shall offer of conveying a fair statement to Pekin, we may venture to hope his removal. Difficulties will probably occur which at present might render the attempt hazardous but with that support from His Majesty's Ministers and the Hon'ble Court which we are led to hope for, We trust most beneficial effects will be found hereafter to result. A Letter addressed to the Viceroy and delivered to us by Captain Maxwell is at his request translating into Chinese and it will be conveyed to the City by his Officer should the Merchants refuse to carry it or ensure its reception.

LXXIV

THE CONSOO FUND, 1817

For the season 1817 the Select Committee was composed of Sir Theophilus J. Metcalfe (President) and Messrs. Joseph Cotton, James B. Urmston, and James Molony. The books were opened on March 24th with the following balances:

	Tls.	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury, 1,386,228 Dollars	998,084	
Tea in stock, 49,026 piculs	1,146,669	
Anchors and Medicines	1,544	
Stock of *Princess Amelia* unsold	279,518	
Factory account	10,706	
Loan on factory	69,602	
Embassy account	14,960	
Secret Department	36,000	
Estates of Ponqua and Gnewqua	273,662	
Estate of T. Beale	232,317	
Hong Merchants	663,048	
		3,726,110
Dr. to Bonds payable	84,889	
Hong Merchants	1,602	
		86,491
Credit Balance		3,639,619

The names of neither Howqua (Puiqua) nor Puankhequa appear on either side of this account, the assumption being that their balances were exactly liquidated at the close of the previous season. Further advances of 776,981 dollars were made to the Hong Merchants (again excluding Howqua and Puankhequa) on March 30th. The asset 'Secret Department' refers to an advance made by that department to a tea dealer in order to secure a quantity of Congou of the good old-fashioned sort, not now brought to market.

During the season the Company received fifteen ships, and (including the *Princess Amelia* of the previous season) loaded sixteen—all Indiamen of a chartered tonnage of 1,200 tons each, or 19,200 tons in all. The stock was provided as follows:

	Tls.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Goods: English products	2,438,992		
Indian ,,	1,193,510		
	3,632,502 =		5,045,100
Silver received—nil.			
Treasury receipts:			
Bills on London (5*s.* 2*d.* and 365 days)		826,180	
,, ,, Bengal (205 Sa R. = 100 Dollars)		1,528,767	
Certificates		182,702	
Cotton bonds paid in		153,659	
T. Beale estate		70,178	
Ponqua and Gnewqua estate	63,433 =	88,102	
			2,849,588
Total Receipts			7,894,688
Investment: in goods	4,411,432		
Disbursements: Survey of China Sea	45,692		
Port dues on 16 Ships	71,000		
Unloading and Factory	73,000		
	4,601,124 =		6,390,450
Silver shipped to Bengal			2,000,000
Total Disbursements			8,390,450

The principal features of the trade of Canton during the season were as follows:

	Ships.		*Cotton.*	*Tea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Woven Silks.*	*Nankeens.*
	No.	Tonnage.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Pieces.
English:							
Company	16	19,200	83,530	160,692	417	..	210,000
Country	39	24,000	354,867	18,696	1,700	794	433,000
American	33	12,028	..	169,143	..	2,188	586,000
	88	55,228	438,397	348,531	2,117	2,982	1,229,000

More detailed tables will be found at the end of the chapter. Dutch ships were expected, but did not arrive. The quantity of tea reported to have been shipped under the American flag appears doubtful; the tonnage would not have carried more than 90,000 to 100,000 piculs.

The original cost of the presents for the Emperor, returned from Peking to Canton, and shipped to Calcutta, was £15,390.

When the factory proceeded to Macao on April 2nd the sum of 19,695 dollars was taken down for expenses, and the balance of the funds in hand was left in the safe custody of

Howqua	441,840 dollars
Puankhequa	416,000 ,,

Howqua continued to act as banker in advancing to the seven junior merchants, on the security of the Company, the money needed for paying the duties due to the Government. Towards the close of the season, on March 6, 1818, the Committee carried to his credit one year's interest at 10 per cent. on the amounts lent. Earlier in the season, in May, 1817, they had advanced directly to six of the seven the sums required to enable them to meet a demand made for their contributions to the Consoo fund. In July and October money was also advanced to enable them to pay their arrears of duties. These three, the debt to Howqua, the payments for the Consoo fund, and the advances for duties, were as follows:

	Howqua's Advance.	*Consoo Fund.*	*Advances for Duties.*
	Tls.	Dollars.	Dollars.
To Conseequa . . .	18,900	8,000	54,722
Exchin . . .	93,711	10,000	58,056
Manhop . . .	67,018	10,000	56,667
Poonequa . . .	96,030	10,000	58,056
Goqua . . .	84,698	9,000	43,056
Kinqua . . .	58,375	..	56,378
Fatqua . . .	51,661	15,000	44,411
	470,393	62,000	371,346

In their letter (the Committee being then at Macao) applying for help the six merchants were compelled to explain at some length what were the nature and amounts of some of the demands made on the Consoo fund, which was supposed to be only a guarantee fund to secure the payment of debts owed by insolvent Chinese to foreign creditors.

	Tls.
Kiaking 12th year (1807)	
Kung-Kia (貢 價) Presents to Court . . .	55,000
Keun-seu, Military expenses, Szechwan and Shensi .	41,666
Ho-Kung, Embankments of the Yellow River . .	37,500
For suppression of piracy	60,000
	194,166
Kiaking 13th year (1808)	
Kung-Kia	55,000
Keun-seu (Szechwan and Shensi)	41,666
,, (Macao)	10,000
Suppression of piracy	20,000
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)	150,000
	276,666

		Tls.
Kiaking 14th year (1809)		
Kung-Kia		55,000
Emperor's Birthday Celebrations		120,000
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)		52,500
Suppression of piracy		149,800
River barriers and forts		20,000
Casa Branca and Macao troops		10,000
Manching Hong (Gnewqua) in bankruptcy:	Tls.	
Arrears of duties	53,800	
Arrears of Consoo fund	17,900	
For Liang Tao	2,000	
Debts to foreigners	84,200	
		157,900
		565,200
Kiaking 15th year (1810)		
Kung-Kia		55,000
Keun-seu		41,600
Troops at Casa Branca and Macao		43,300
Suppression of piracy		50,000
Debts to foreign creditors		128,800
		318,700
Kiaking 16th year (1811)		
Kung-Kia		55,000
Keun-seu		41,600
Suppression of piracy		30,000
Casa Branca and Macao troops		43,300
Foreign debts	(*sic*)	(398,100)
		568,000
Kiaking 17th year (1812)		
Kung-Kia (Court)		55,000
Keun-seu (Military)		41,600
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)		60,000
Suppression of piracy		30,000
Casa Branca and Macao troops		33,000
Foreign debts		146,400
		366,000
Kiaking 18th year (1813)		
Kung-Kia (Court)		55,000
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)		73,500
Foreign debts		145,500
		274,000
Kiaking 19th year (1814)		
Kung-Kia (Court)		55,000
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)		60,000
Famine in Shantung		30,000
Foreign debts		145,000
		290,000

	Tls.
Kiaking 20th year (1815)	
Kung-Kia (Court)	55,000
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)	60,000
Famine in Shantung	30,000
Foreign debts	145,000
	290,000
Kiaking 21st year (1816)	
Kung-Kia (Court)	55,000
Ho-Kung (Yellow River)	60,000
Famine in Shantung	30,000
Forts at the Bogue, 1st Instalment	5,325
Foreign debts	145,000
	295,325

The three forms of help described above were given to the merchants to prop them up and save them from bankruptcy. Five years previously[1] four of them, Conseequa, Exchin, Manhop, and Poonequa, had submitted their affairs to the control of three nominees of their foreign creditors, with the condition, on the one side, that the cumulation of interest should stop, and on the other, that all profits derived from their business should be devoted to reducing their liabilities. In March, 1818, the nominees wrote to the Select Committee:

> The considerate and judicious support, which the Hongs so unhappily circumstanced have received from the Hon'ble Company may be considered to have re-established them; but instead of having employed their restored credit wisely and correctly, we apprehend they have, in this season especially, perverted it to their own Detriment and that of their Creditors.

In giving such extensive support to these merchants, the Committee went beyond the intention of the Court of Directors. In their secret instructions of December 6, 1816, they wrote, as summarized in the Committee's reply of November 24, 1817:

> Committee have advanced 230,000 Tales to Junior Merch'ts to enable them to make payments to that amount to the European creditors, adopting this measure agreeably with Court's orders to afford them the assistance of the Comp'y this season to discharge private Debts. We have referred to our instructions on this head. Our sole views in respect to affording assistance to Merchants undoubtedly were to continue the same sort of assistance during the liquidation of the private Debts as was afforded during the liquidation of the Comp'ys Debt. Our demands upon the five hongs were to be satisfied by the profits on their

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 183.

Trade—no intention of giving to private Creditors an advantage which we never received. . . . In our Letter of 5th April 1816 it was observed that if the Junior Merchants had been broken we should have been Creditors for the sum of 231,480 Tales borrowed of Puiqua on their account to enable them to pay Duties as you had pledged the Comp'ys responsibility. In your Consultation of Febr'y 19th 1816 you say you were security to Puiqua for Tales 400,000 advanced for payment of Merchts Duties and in your Secret Letter of 23rd Febr'y 1816 you state that those Merchants would have to pay a further sum of 100,000 Tales to prevent being broken.

It thus appears that besides the sum of . . .	Tas. 292,222
standing to the Debit of 5 hongs our security is pledged for a further sum of	400,000
and is likely to be for another sum of . . .	100,000
on acct. of these hongs, making together . . .	Tales 792,222

independent of advances on contracts of 1816/17.

The Committee were informed that they had misunderstood the intentions of the Court, and were instructed to restrict advances in the future to the sums necessary for contracts, for the duties, and such assistance as the current affairs of the hongs might require. In their reply (November 24, 1817) the Committee pointed out that the only advantage required for the Company was a priority of payment, which had been conceded; that the plan proposed had inspired the private creditors with confidence; that the method of entering into contracts with the tea dealers fully insured the Company from all risk of loss from the Hong Merchants; and that the most seriously evil consequences might arise if the system should be abandoned. It was further pointed out that the advance for the bribe of 100,000 taels had been recovered from the profits on some additional purchases of Congou; and that

> with respect to the sum of 400,000 Tales guaranteed to Puiqua it is clearly understood that our responsibility depends upon the Trade itself, and that should any attempt be made to break one of the Junior Hongs before its payment, our guarantee will not be efficient unless we shall be permitted to carry on the shares of such broken hong for the liquidation of its Debts.

The Committee therefore expressed the hope that the Court would reconsider their decision and permit the procedure to be continued. They took the responsibility of continuing it in

making, on March 14th, their contracts for the ensuing season of 1818, as follows:

	Twenty-eight shares.	*Congou.* Chests.	*Twankay.* Chests.	*Souchong, Hyson, Hyson Skins.* Chests.	*Nankeens.* Pieces.
Puiqua . .	3	9,600	4,000	..	50,000
Mowqua . .	3	9,600	4,000	..	20,000
Puankhequa .	3	9,600	5,000	..	..
Chunqua ..	3	9,600	4,000	..	..
Conseequa .	3	9,600	4,000	..	90,000
Exchin . .	2	6,300	2,500	..	..
Manhop . .	2	6,300	2,500	..	..
Poonequa .	2	6,300	2,500	..	..
Goqua . .	2	6,300	2,500	..	..
Kinqua . .	2	6,300	2,500	..	..
Fatqua . .	2	6,300	2,500	..	..
Unassigned .	1	4,200	..	21,300	40,000
	28	90,000	36,000	21,300	200,000

A chop of tea, on delivery, might consist of any number of chests from 5 to 1,000; but in contracting and for estimating advances a chop of Congou was held to be 600 chests and 400 piculs. The actual average weight of tea in a chest was taken at:

	lb.
Bohea	360
Congou	88
Souchong, Compoi	75
Twankay	80
Hyson, Hyson Skins	66

The tea came to Canton for shipment from the belt of central provinces—Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei, Chekiang, and Fukien—over the low Cheling and Meiling passes. From Fukien the Meiling Pass was a roundabout route, and even the route over the eastern mountains and down the East River presented some difficulties; and the traders had begun to send their Fukien teas by the easier sea route, made still easier by the prevalence of the north-east monsoon during the loading season. Mr. Ball, the Tea Inspector, had commented on this in a pamphlet written by him and printed by Mr. Thoms at Macao, in which he advocated the opening of an additional port to the northward, preferably in Fukien; and the Court of Directors, writing on

March 12, 1817, had expressed their approval, and in the meantime urged that use of the sea route be encouraged in order to reduce the cost of transport and the amount of taxation; and further urged that the officials be asked to remove the existing prohibition on the transport of lead by sea to Fukien. The reduction in taxation, which was attractive to the Court, excited the apprehensions of the officials, and the leakage was reported to the throne in a memorial of Tseang, the Canton Viceroy, in reply to which an imperial rescript declared that

> the surface of the Ocean is wide and it is impracticable to search and find out what is done thereon, it is impossible to ensure that prohibited articles are not smuggled and sold clandestinely. . . . All the Merchants who carry Tea to Canton shall conform to past usage and carry their Tea by the Rivers and over the Mountains; it is forever prohibited to carry it by sea. . . . Smuggling is a trifling affair but having communications with foreigners is a thing which involves vast Interests.

This was embodied in a proclamation issued on November 1st by the Viceroy Tseang, and again on January 16, 1818, in a proclamation by Yuen, the new Viceroy, who, referring to four junk-loads of sea-borne tea alleged to have left Fukien before the issue of the Emperor's prohibition, declared—

> This excuse is manifestly false. I have now examined the Vessels and put a seal upon them, and the Tea Merchants I have put under Custody, whilst an Express is sent to Fokeen to make a strict Enquiry into the Facts. If what they affirm as to the time of their Departure prove a false Statement, I will forthwith in obedience to the Imperial Will take both the Tea Merchants and the Masters of the Vessels, and discriminating the degree of Guilt, punish their Crimes. All the Goods shall be entirely confiscated. As to bringing Teas by sea unquestionably it ought to be strictly prohibited, and the land transport ought also to be looked into closely. Of late years in Canton Tea has been dealt in in excessive quantities, without Order or Enquiry. There has been smuggling, wrangling to sell first and every species of illegality; vastly different from that tranquil and still transaction of business which is incumbent. If this Medley and indiscriminating Inundation of the Market shall again take place, I shall at once report it to His Majesty and request his Commands to deliberate and settle the quantity to be brought, and further to station Officers at the Meiling Pass and other places on the way to examine all that passes, and whatever teas exceed the fixed quantity to send it back and not allow it to come to Canton.

The revolution in Mexico and South America having been

temporarily suppressed by Spain in 1815, the trade across the Pacific again became active, and on May 3, 1817, the Committee wrote to Rear-Admiral Sir Richard King, commanding the East India Station, that

> the *Vittoria* lately arrived at Manilla imported about a million and a half of Dollars, and two other Vessels are daily expected by which it is hoped a further supply of three million and a half may be received.

It was much to be desired that some portion of this silver should be brought to Canton, and on July 26th Captain Daniel Ross was directed to take the two Company's cruisers, the *Margaret and Frances* and the *Investigator*, and survey to the eastward of Lintin Bar, the Capsingmoon Passage, and Lyeemoon Straits, and then,

> deeming it politic that the Cruisers should not return before the end of September, we direct you to proceed to the Port of Manilla, and authorize you to receive such Treasure as you may find the Merchants of that place anxious to remit to China.

In drawing on London and on Bengal the Committee took in silver in excess of their needs, which were less because of reduced purchases of tea; and by a calculation submitted at a consultation on March 15, 1818, it was manifest that the disposable surplus amounted to Tls. 1,677,107. It was accordingly decided that the last ship of the season, a single ship, should be directed to call at Penang, and that by her should be remitted for Calcutta specie to the amount of two million dollars (Tls. 1,440,000). In giving permission for the shipment, the Viceroy ordered that every box should be examined, in order to ensure that no sycee was sent away; Sir T. Metcalfe protested that the Company's seal should not be broken; and the Viceroy conceded that the examination should be made in the factory, before the boxes were sealed.

Sir T. Metcalfe chafed under the restriction, which Lord Amherst's Embassy had not removed, of communication with the officials. On April 23, 1817, a brig arrived from Hawaii (the first to be dispatched under his own flag by 'His Owyhean Majesty' King Tamaahmah); her arrival was reported by the 'Macao Weiyuen' to the Viceroy, who thereupon sent a mandate to the Hong Merchants for communication to the English Chief.

In the original Letter of the Merchants, the Characters which approximate the sound of the foreign name, while they convey to a Native a ludicrous or insulting meaning ; [1] and in the latter by assuming to themselves Titles in opposition to Chinese notions of civility and propriety ; the object always steadily pursued by the Hong Merchants of degrading foreigners in the estimation of their Countrymen, is sufficiently apparent. The Terms by which foreigners are designated and addressed in the language of the Country, are not unimportant. . . . A direct Communication with the Officers of Government by setting aside the intervention of the Merchants is a highly desirable point, and indeed was understood to have been conceded by the Viceroy in the Treaty concluded in 1814. The fact was however denied by the Merchants in the last Season ; and upon a reference to the Chinese Copy of that Document it appears that the Viceroy bound himself to reply, through the Hoppo, to the Addresses of the Committee ; but the Channel through which the latter Officer was to transmit the Communication was not anticipated.

The President also expressed much dissatisfaction with the conduct of Puankhequa, who was obviously trying to reduce the Committee to a condition of subservience to himself. On May 14th the Committee wrote to the Viceroy to complain of some minor exactions at Macao, and on June 1st received his reply through the Hong Merchants :

The Refusal to establish a Direct Communication between the Local Government and our Board excites no great surprise, and is conveyed in as moderate terms as we had any reason to expect.

There were some other replies to their addresses, which the Committee declared to be not unsatisfactory, except for the fact that they denied that direct communication which they considered to be essential ; but, in commenting on the remarks of the Court of Directors about their discussions on the *General Hewitt* at the close of 1816, they wrote :

The ready recourse of the Viceroy to measures of hostility on the occasion alluded to is we fear but too characteristic of the Spirit of the Chinese Government towards Foreigners in general, whom it studiously endeavours to render contemptible in the eyes of the Natives, and in fact by deliberate acts imparts to the public the tone of insult and contumely towards Strangers, which has been exceeded only by the forbearance of the latter. . . . The change of Terms, the assertion of facts which never occurred, and the denial of those which gave rise to the Remonstrance, afford the Chinese Government the ready means of representing

[1] Cf. Morse, *International Relations*, vol. i, p. 124, n. 16 ; p. 125, n. 19.

Foreigners as the aggressors in every case of Discussion, but although our Remonstrances are by such means rendered nugatory in by far the majority of instances, yet we consider it a point worth the trouble it occasions to preserve even the usage of communicating directly with the Government in such terms as a Native could not use on our behalf, trusting to the effect of time and reason to amend the degrading situation in which the Government of China persists in keeping all the strangers who frequent her Ports.

These were the closing words of a report to the Secret Committee dated November 24, 1818. Two and a half months earlier the Select Committee had occasion to complain of an insult in connexion with a funeral. The Company's ship *Royal George* arrived at Lintin on September 4th; the next day her fifth officer died, and on the 6th his body was brought to Macao by his brother officers for burial in the place set apart for dead Protestants. Formal application for permission was made to the Portuguese Governor, and granted; and the staff of the factory went at 5 p.m. to the usual landing-place, to take part in the funeral procession.

The Coffin was in readiness to be lifted from the boat on the Men's shoulders. On our reaching the landing place opposite the Chop House, we found to our very great surprise, a number of Chinese Cooleys or servants, belonging to that office, without any superior person or Officer at their head or at the Chop House, ranged up in front of their office and close to the landing place, armed with swords, spears, etc., violently desiring the Officer and Boat's Crew not to approach up the steps at the landing place with the Body. The Men however were advancing from the Boat with the Coffin on their shoulders, when the Chinese who were thus armed enforced their first threats by the most insulting gestures and menaces, and did all but proceed to blows, levelling the points of their Weapons at us, making a considerable noise, and in short seemed determined not to allow the Corpse to be landed at that place.

The Englishmen showed great forbearance, but they held their own in face of the threatening mob; but, while the two parties were thus at a deadlock, Mr. Morrison took the boat a few feet to one side and caused the coffin to be raised directly on to the quay; the funeral procession was then formed and proceeded to the burial-place without further molestation. The Committee at once wrote a letter of complaint to the Viceroy, who replied courteously, through the merchants, that he would make inquiry; and later sent a statement, through the merchants, from the

Hoppo's representative at Macao, denying *in toto* charges which the Committee had not made and evading altogether the charges which they had made. The Committee thought it right to re-represent the facts, though without much hope of carrying conviction to the Viceroy's mind; and on November 17th they received from the merchants a mandate from the Hoppo communicating the reply of the Viceroy, who embodied statements from Macao asseverating facts which did not occur and avoiding those which did. There is little wonder that a week later they wrote as they did to the Court of Directors.

On September 8th the *Dorsetshire* arrived at Whampoa from London, and soon after the main-topmast of the *Marquis of Camden* was struck by lightning and set on fire. Boats were sent from the *Dorsetshire*, and during their absence an attempt at robbery was made on her gunroom ports and scuttles. The attempt was detected and those left on board opened fire with muskets on a boat alongside, which made off, but was intercepted and captured by the boat of a country ship. When taken, she was emptied of men, but in her

> were found Shields, Knives, Crowbars, Dark Lanthorn and other Implements for robbery, attack and defence. The Arms seized will in the event of any discussion afford satisfactory evidence of the necessity of our people being prepared to repel with similar Weapons the daring and systematic Attacks which are constantly made upon Ships frequenting this Port.

But no attention was attracted to the episode. On an earlier occasion the results were more serious. The American ship *Wabash* was lying in the usual anchorage in Macao Road on May 26th, when

> a Chinese Compradore's Boat went alongside about 9 o'clock in the evening, and some of the Crew asserting in English that they were the Bearers of a Letter from the Captain (who had proceeded to Canton) they were permitted to come on board, when they suddenly attacked and quickly overpowered the Americans on Deck; and having secured the rest of the Ship's Company, they plundered the Vessel of valuable property and departed with their Booty, steering towards the Ladrone Islands. An Officer and two Seamen severely wounded in this Attack were landed this morning and sent to the Portuguese Hospital.

The officer died, and, after some pressure, the Heungshan Hien went to the hospital and held an inquest, also viewing the wounds

of the two seamen; and the Consul wrote reporting the murder, also the murder or abduction of six other sailors, as well as the robbery of all the silver on board, and demanded reparation.

In support of the Consul, the English Committee also wrote to the Tsotang and to the Viceroy, pointing out the danger to foreign interests in general, and, to the Viceroy, adverting to the evil practice of heaping terms of scorn on all foreigners, such as Demons, Devils, Barbarians, &c. On June 19th

Private Accounts from Canton mention the Circumstance of a Native who having gone before the Panyuhien and having delivered up three parcels of Opium, deposed that he had been persuaded by a party of his Countrymen to go to Cabrita Point, for the purpose of meeting Ships coming into the Roads, but unconscious of their intention to plunder; and having received three parcels of Opium as his share of the Booty, he had, knowing it to be a prohibited Article, delivered it up to Government.

In response to the applications of the American Consul and the English Committee, the Viceroy offered a reward of three thousand dollars and his officers arrested sundry suspects, whose heads he is supposed to have taken off; but he eagerly caught up the suspicion (the alleged proof) that the *Wabash* was carrying opium, and on that he based his refusal to pay compensation for the plundered property. He ultimately reimbursed the amount of specie taken; but, assuming that only opium besides had been stolen, he refused to pay for that. Two of the linguists made a written declaration that, to their knowledge, the American ships commonly brought opium, but the Hong Merchants refused to make a similar statement. The other questions were settled satisfactorily. The Kwangchow Fu held a trial at which the American Consul and the commander of the ship were present.

During the Investigation the Quong-chow-foo admitted the Murder of five Men; declared his intention to execute the Criminals; and invited the American Captain Gant to be present: which he declined, pleading the necessity of joining his Ship. It appears that eleven men have been apprehended; one of the Ringleaders, it is said, is to be cut into 24 pieces, and four others to be decapitated. The Viceroy, by the Report of the Merchants, gave from his private purse 4,000 Dollars, and returned to the American Captain 824½ Dollars which were recovered from the Criminals. Puiqua likewise had presented him with 2,000 Dollars.

It is to be observed that the authorities admitted that five Americans had been killed, and, in reparation, executed five Chinese. The *Wabash* remained in the Taipa anchorage until July 6th, when she sailed without entering the port. On July 24th the Viceroy sent a mandate to the merchants declaring that the affair was now settled :

It is ascertained that it all arose from the said foreign Merchant bringing Opium, which is a prohibited commodity. Gant brought the Calamity upon himself ; if any other vessels do not bring Opium they can have nothing to apprehend.

Behind the scenes, in the meantime, a drama was being enacted. Private advices were received from Canton to the effect that

for the American affair of the attack on the *Wabash* five men have been executed and Howqua fined 160,000 Tales. Puankhequa wished the five Junior Hongs to advance 5,000 Tales each ; Conseequa would only give four thousand. Afterwards the Viceroy required the three Seniors below Howqua (or Puiqua) to subscribe to some Public Service and Howqua himself to pay 160,000 Tales.

This attack drove the Hong Merchants to desperation, and in full conclave they came to a

determination not to secure any Ship whose Commander has not signed a Bond, engaging that he will not smuggle Opium, Sycee, or Tuthenague ; and it is their Intention to require the same of the Commanders of the H.C. Ships, asserting that this Measure has received the Sanction of the Viceroy.

The Committee held a consultation on this subject on July 21st. The first of the Company's ships did not arrive until September 8th ; but there were ten country ships already at Whampoa, and their commanders refused to sign the bond until they should learn the wishes of the Committee. By the Committee it was thought that

the strenuous Advocates of established Customs would upon reflexion abandon so important an innovation. Through a private Channel however, the President caused Puiqua to be apprised that an Attempt to establish the point would encounter a Rigorous Opposition.

The commanders of all the country ships agreed to support the Committee and to refuse to sign any bond ; but one ship, the *Sullimany*, consigned to a Parsee agent, was secured by Kinqua

and received, alone, her permits to discharge her cargo of cotton, which had been sold before arrival.

I asked the owner if he had granted any bond or writing to Kinqua, which he denied ; but made a promise to do as other ships did.

On July 23rd the Hong Merchants held a meeting and came to the decision that the trade should be open as before.

They have bought four cargoes today and secured the Ships on the usual terms.

The next move of the Chinese authorities was an order on August 25th to search the ships at Whampoa. In a well-ordered community this decision seems right and proper ; but the determination of the commanders to resist its execution was approved by the Committee, who promised their support. Their argument in favour of such action was as follows :

It might be argued that every Govt. possesses an inherent right to confine the commerce of its Ports within such regulations as its own views of Policy shall suggest, and more especially with regard to the Laws for the prevention of Smuggling against which Foreigners cannot remonstrate without the risk of subjecting themselves to the imputation of interested motives. In civilized Countries where Commerce is carried on upon principles laid down in formal Treaties, the infringement of which is checked by the inconveniences arising from War, the foregoing argument would have its full weight, but as in China Custom alone is referred to by the Government as their Guide and Rule, when the repeal of absurd and unjust restrictions is asked by Foreigners, it is at least equitable that the reference to this Standard should be reciprocal, and that it is therefore our Duty to oppose all innovations of a restrictive nature, upon a Trade, already too confined and oppressed, although they may be of a character, which is sanctioned in the intercourse of liberal Governments.

On the subject of opium and tutenague the Committee expressed no opinion, but the prohibition of the export of sycee was denounced as impeding the free flow of trade ; when the import of goods and silver from Europe and India exceeded the export of Chinese commodities to all destinations, it was obvious that the trade must be balanced in some way ; and

from the nature of the Transactions in Opium and Sysee Silver, we are compelled to overlook the clandestine proceedings by which they are conducted, unless an act of smuggling were officially brought before us ; and indeed instances have occurred in late years of our necessarily

resorting to them ourselves when the Balance of Trade in our Favor required a remittance of Bullion to India or England.

On the subject of the search of ships they were equally emphatic. With the undisciplined nature of the Chinese a promiscuous search by a number of inferior officers of the Customs would inevitably lead to a great deal of pilfering, and even to planting traps in order to extort bribes.

It does appear to us that we are peremptorily called upon to prevent any search of Ships, displaying the British Flag, as well for the preservation of the National Honor, as of the vital interests of the commerce entrusted to our Charge. A Chinese Boat with a Custom House Officer is anchored night and day alongside each foreign Ship and is fully competent to prevent smuggling.

The Committee accordingly ordered the commanders of the country ships to resist search; instructed the commanders of the Company's ships also to resist it, and to support the country ships; and, Mr. Molony dissenting, they requested Captain John Clavell of H.M.S. *Orlando* to move from Lintin up to Chuenpi, in order to draw the attention of the Chinese to the presence of a ship of war, and to be near at hand in case of need. The authorities appear to have abandoned their intention to search.

Opium had thus incited the Chinese authorities to acts of repression and prevention which their cumbersome official machinery prevented them from carrying into effect; and opium from sources outside the Company's monopoly in Bengal continued to engage the attention of the Committee. On November 7, 1817, they record:

The following we believe to be a correct statement of the quantities of Malwa Opium imported into Macao by the Portuguese Ships:

By the Ship	*Principe Regente*	388 chests
,, ,,	*Angelica*	396 ,,
,, ,,	*Belisario*	4 ,,
,, ,,	*Rainha dos Anjos*	227 ,,
Total		1,015 ,,

Mr. Molony communicated to the Committee some information obtained by him before joining the Board, showing that the recent action of the Portuguese authorities in restricting to Portuguese subjects the right to deal in opium at Macao was due to three causes:

1st Opium being allowed to go to Whampoa;
2ndly Enormous high prices of Opium at the Company's Sales asserted by the Senate from affluence of the purchasers in Bengal; and
3rdly from the charge of double Duties in Bengal and England from China by the Portuguese Ships.

Besides the objections to a monopoly which shut British subjects out from the Macao trade, it was pointed out that the Portuguese forces could not protect deposits in godowns in Macao from attacks or raids by the Chinese; and opium was in addition exposed to

the pernicious interference of the Judge respecting the fees to the Mandarins for permitting the continuance of this Trade. It is known to the Select Committee that two years ago, when obstacles were thrown in the way of a sale of Opium by the Mandarins, Mr. Arriaga made an arrangement for levying from the purchasers (over and above the price they agreed to pay the Importer) an Assignment of 40 Dollars per Chest which was to form a fund for stated distribution among the local Officers of Government.

A pencilled marginal note showed that, on an importation of 2,500 chests, this provided a sum of 100,000 dollars a year, and Mr. Molony suggested to the Committee that so large a corruption fund, collected in so public a manner, was an encouragement to discontented persons to bring constant denunciations to the higher authorities. He further urged the Committee, in view of the prospect that the introduction of opium at Whampoa might be made impossible, to take steps to remove the restriction on British merchants imposed at Macao. The Committee had repeatedly written to the Governor-General, who had as often written to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, but without producing any change of policy at Macao. On October 13, 1817, the Committee wrote:

In our Letter of the 30th September 1816 we noticed that the Quantity of Malva Opium imported last year was about Six Hundred Peculs, we believe that the Quantity of Turkey Opium brought to Whampoa was Five Hundred Peculs, so that in the last Season there were consumed in this Country Eleven Hundred Peculs of Opium not the produce of the British Territories. In the present Season the importation of Malva Opium at Macao alone amounts to Twelve Hundred Peculs, besides which a considerable quantity of Turkey Opium which perhaps we may estimate at between three and four hundred Peculs, as also a small portion of the produce of Malva, have been imported at Wham-

poa. . . . Turkey Opium we believe is never imported to Macao but is brought to Whampoa by Americans and others, as far as the Americans are engaged in that Trade, it evidently furnishes to them a profitable remittance of Funds to carry on their Export Trade from hence.

This assertion that the Americans were responsible for the initiation and prosecution of the trade in Turkey opium in China was in the main true; but in this season we have the record of one shipment on a Company's ship. Mr. Henry Veitch, H.B.M. Agent and Consul-General at Madeira, wrote to the Committee on January 25, 1817 (received on December 31st):

By direction from Thos. Reid, Esq. the Chairman of the Directors of the H.E.I. Company I beg leave to transmit to you the Marks and Numbers of a quantity of Turkey Opium that was lately imported into this Island from London by the Ship *Pitt*, and reshipped on the 23rd instant on board the H.C.S. *Vansittart* bound to Bombay and China.

Marks. 26 chests 4,223 lb. Ent'd at London 11th Sept.
" 5 " 873 " " " " 9th "
31 " 5,096 " imp'd in the *Hember Hodge* from Smyrna.

These thirty-one chests may have been discharged at Bombay; there is no other record of their having been received at Canton, or of their having provided funds for the Company's treasury there.

From time to time we have a reminder how slight and precarious was the Portuguese hold on Macao. The Chinese lost no opportunity of demonstrating that they were lords of the soil. They were supreme in military matters, such as the defence of the port against the English in 1808; and exercised the taxing power within the limits of the town; but they did not interfere with the relations of one Portuguese to another, or even of one foreigner to another so long as no Chinese interest was involved. They did not hesitate, however, to intervene in cases of infraction of the fundamental laws of the Empire. On August 20, 1817,

A strong party of Runners well armed, belonging to the Office of the Kune-min-foo, attacked and seized 25 Chinese, partly in the entrance of the Portuguese Church of St. Lazaro, and partly in the village adjoining, which is understood to have been gradually built by the Portuguese as habitations for their Chinese Converts to Christianity. The Runners pillaged and nearly destroyed several of these Houses; and the Kune-min-foo is reported to have threatened to burn down the whole, as the resort of a prohibited Sect.

On October 10th Mr. Davis received from a Chinese source the following 'Public Notification':

The Viceroy Tseang-ta-jin has resolved upon the 5th of the 9th moon [five days off] to set out from Canton and proceed to Heangshan, where he will land and proceed straight to Casabranca Camp to examine and review the Officers and Men. He will then immediately go to Macao and survey all the Portuguese Forts, as well as the place itself, to see whether or no there is anything wrong.

The foreign trade of Canton was, according to the regulations, restricted to the Hong Merchants, to the exclusion of all others; but the stringency of the rule was in practice limited to the main staples of trade—tea and silk among exports, raw cotton and woven woollens among imports; the numerous articles making up the private trade of the commanders and officers they were usually free to buy from, or sell to, whom they pleased. One of the surgeons of the Company's ships, Mr. McKenzie, imported in his private trade goods which he valued at 29,000 dollars and

he entrusted them to a Shop-Keeper with whom he had been acquainted and dealt with for many voyages. The Duties were paid. It appeared that this Shop-Keeper also entered into a negociation with another person, unconnected with us, and engaged to procure him a quantity of Raw Silk.

This prohibited traffic coming to the knowledge of the police (through the agency of the Hong Merchants, it was suspected), they brought charges against the shopkeeper, who thereupon absconded. His property was then seized, and given up to the Hong Merchants to realize; and they awarded 8,000 dollars to Mr. McKenzie in full quittance of his claim for 29,000. He handed in a petition to the Committee, who, on November 17th, wrote a statement of the case to the Governor, who was acting as Viceroy. In his reply of December 11th (through the Hoppo, and the merchants) he denounced the laxness through which the shopkeepers encroached on the privileges of the Hong Merchants; and for the future he ordered that every shopkeeper having dealings with foreigners should be secured by one of the authorized Hong Merchants. On January 10th it was recorded that

we are informed that it was yesterday notified to a deputation of the Shopkeepers, who deal in Articles of foreign Import, and whose Shops are in the immediate Vicinity of the Foreign Factories, that in consequence of the difficulty of preventing their Traffic with Europeans in

commodities of which the Hong Merchants possess the Monopoly, and also to relieve the Government from the Inconvenience of appeals against them in case of Bankruptcy or fraud, it was resolved, at the expiration of the present [Chinese] year, that such of them as could not procure the Security of a Hong Merchant, must close their Shops, but with liberty to continue their calling within the Walls of the City, where Strangers had not access; this Restriction will affect between one and two hundred Shops, and as the requisite Security has been denied by the Hong Merchants generally, will occasion a serious loss of property and employment to the Persons interested.

The shopkeepers petitioned against being thus placed in the power of the Hong Merchants, but, on February 9th, a reply was issued rejecting their plea, and directing the provincial Treasurer to see to it that shopkeepers in future traded with foreigners in nothing but the eight commodities sanctioned by the edict of the 45th year of Kienlung (1780).

The captain's privilege for his private trade, now 99 tons to and from London on a first-class Indiaman, included 30 tons 'Extra'. The captain was supposed, by the Company's regulations, to allow his officers a certain share in this; but, especially in the case of the '30 extra tons', there was a tendency for the captain to absorb the whole. This happened on the *Atlas*, whose second officer, and later whose surgeon, claimed their rights. In this they were upheld by the Committee, the second officer's share in the 30 extra tons being 2 tons 9 cwt. 2 qrs. $26\frac{54}{59}$ lb.

On account of Mr. Thomas Beale's estate there were, on January 2, 1818, paid to the Committee 70,178 dollars, being the balance of a sum of 150,000 dollars which had been guaranteed to be paid in October, 1816. After this payment the Company was only a joint creditor with the others, with the advantage, however, of having certain documents representing opium deposited as collateral security. The nominees engaged in winding up the estate were Mr. Molony, representing the Company, and Messrs. Robarts and Magniac, representing the other non-Portuguese creditors. On Mr. Molony's accession to the Select Committee, the question was raised whether he was not obliged to resign all other engagements, and, after some discussion, the Committee decided that he should continue to act: he had traced out the manifold commitments of the debtor, and he had perfected his knowledge of Portuguese in order to be able to read

at first hand the voluminous correspondence in the case, only a portion of which had been studied. The total of Mr. Beale's debts was assumed to be 1,326,500 dollars. The payments to be exacted from Senhor Arriaga were reduced from 250,000 dollars payable in five annual instalments, to 150,000 dollars payable, 50,000 in January, 1818, and 100,000 in January, 1819; this reduction being considered advisable in view of the insecurity of his position as Judge at Macao, the insecurity of the opium trade at Macao, and the insecurity of Portuguese shipping on the coast of Brazil. With this reduction, the creditors agreed to compound their claims on payment of about 45 per cent.

Miscellaneous assets exclusive of Senhor Arriaga's and the Baron de St. Jozé de Porto Alegré's Instalments and of the 230,000 Dollars in the hands of the latter, may be taken at 139,000 Dollars, from wh. must be deducted 70,000 Doll. to be paid to the Hon'ble Company,

	Dollars.	Per cent.
leaving	69,000	5·2
Two Instalments from the Baron of 74,400 Doll. each	148,800	11·2
One Instalment this year from Mr. Arriaga . .	50,000	3·7
Money in the hands of the Baron	230,000	17·3
	497,800	37·4
A payment from Mr. Arriaga next year if made .	100,000	7·4
	597,800	44·8

It is to be noted that the salary of Mr. Thoms, the printer, was 1,250 dollars (£300) a year. In conformity with the Viceroy's injunction there were now no Chinese employed at the press, but only Portuguese and Bengalis. Three of the writers, Messrs. Toone, Bannerman, and Davis, were entitled to the 'translator's' allowance of £100 each; and Mr. Morrison reported favourably on 'the attention paid by Messrs. Marjoribanks, Daniell, Smith, and Jackson to the study of the Chinese Language'.

During the season the following births were registered:

To Captain Daniel and Maria Ross, six children born 1811–1817.

To John and Janet Livingstone, one daughter born 1817.

To Mr. and Mrs. Baynes, one daughter born 1817.

And on December 15, 1817, the President, Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, solemnized the marriage according to the rites of the Church of England, of Lieutenant Philip Maughan, commanding the Company's cruiser *Investigator*, to Jane Still, daughter of Patrick and Catherine Still of Aberdeen, N.B.

THE IMPORT TRADE OF CANTON, SEASON 1817

VALUES IN DOLLARS.

Goods.	*British.*					
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*	*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
Woollens	3,127,475	..	3,127,475	..	..	3,127,475
Metals	260,015	115,900	375,915	201,440	..	577,355
Furs	..	..	..	250,000	..	250,000
Other Western products	..	..	..	604,160	..	604,160
Western products	3,387,490	115,900	3,503,390	1,055,600	..	4,558,990
Cotton	1,629,550	6,346,600	7,976,150	..	..	7,976,150
Opium [1]	..	611,100	611,100	..	..	611,100
Sandalwood	28,100	47,100	75,200	166,200	..	241,400
Tin, Banka	..	127,400	127,400	..	..	127,400
Pepper	..	359,800	359,800	..	..	359,800
Other Eastern produce	..	1,041,600	1,041,600	..	..	1,041,600
Eastern produce	1,657,650	8,533,600	10,191,250	166,200	..	10,357,450
Total Goods	5,045,140	8,649,500	13,694,640	1,221,800	..	14,916,440
Silver	..	..	..	4,545,000	250,000	4,795,000
Imports, Whampoa	5,045,140	8,649,500	13,694,640	5,766,800	250,000	19,711,440
Trade at Macao :						
Opium, Bengal [2]	..	..	..	..	2,340,000	2,340,000
Opium, Malva	..	..	..	..	781,000	781,000
Cotton, Indian	..	..	..	..	208,000	208,000
	..	..	..	..	3,329,000	3,329,000
Turkish Opium	..	..	..	448,000	..	448,000
Total Imports into Area	5,045,140	8,649,500	13,694,640	6,214,800	3,579,000	23,488,440

THE EXPORT TRADE OF CANTON, SEASON 1817

VALUES IN DOLLARS.

Goods.	*British.*			*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*			
Ships : Number	16	39	55	33	?	88
Tonnage	19,200	24,000	43,200	12,028	..	55,228
Exports :						
Tea	5,709,617	671,900	6,381,517	4,325,500	..	10,707,017
Raw Silk	177,640	457,800	635,440	..	..	635,440
Silk Piece Goods	..	262,000	262,000	722,000	..	984,000
Nankeens	176,940	372,000	548,940	500,000	..	1,048,940
Tutenague [1]	..	907,500	907,500	..	..	907,500
Other commodities	62,664	970,900	1,033,564	250,000	..	1,283,564
Exports	6,126,861	3,642,100	9,768,961	5,797,500	?	15,566,461
Silver	2,000,000	1,920,000	3,920,000	..	..	3,920,000
	8,126,861	5,562,100	13,688,961	5,797,500	?	19,486,461
Disbursements :						
Port Dues	98,600					
Factory Expenses	101,400	318,000	662,000	250,000	..	912,000
Ship Expenses	144,000					
Survey of China Sea	63,460	..	63,460	..	..	63,460
	407,460	318,000	725,460	250,000	?	975,460
Cost of Investment	8,534,321	5,880,100	14,414,421	6,047,500	?	20,461,921

[1] Export prohibited ; actual shipments 55,000 piculs @ 16½ dollars.

LXXV

OPIUM AND THE DRAIN OF SILVER, 1818

For the season 1818 the Select Committee was composed of Sir T. J. Metcalfe (President) and Messrs. J. Cotton, J. B. Urmston, and J. Molony. On the departure of Mr. Molony, his place was taken by Mr. James Robarts. The books were opened on March 21st with the following balances:

	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury, 871,213 dollars	627,274
Tea in stock, 37,840 piculs	833,049
Anchors, medicines, and cloth for presents	2,614
Cochineal unsold, 65 piculs	56,635
Factory account	3,212
Loan on factories	69,602
Estate of Thomas Beale	181,789
Account of Ponqua and Gnewqua	210,228
Chinese merchants	1,197,456
Credit Balance	3,181,859

Neither Howqua nor Mowqua appear in the account; but the former had advanced upwards of Tls. 500,000 to the junior merchants, secured by the Committee; on March 3, 1819, Mowqua paid into the treasury 148,541 dollars, the 'balance of his account', and on March 14th Puankhequa paid in 32,108 dollars, the 'balance of his account'. The heaviest debtor was Conseequa, who owed Tls. 321,516; this was largely made up of the value of camlets, the sale of which he had undertaken, the price being debited to his account; before September 9th, the date of arrival of the first ship of the season, he had paid in 324,000 dollars (Tls. 233,280), proceeds of their sale. The cochineal, valued at Tls. 56,635, was sold in March, 1918, for 35,100 dollars (Tls. 25,272).

The Company loaded for London 16 ships of 18,500 tons chartered tonnage, or about 21,500 tons actual carrying capacity. Their import cargoes on Company's account were as follows:

	Cost f. o. b.	*Cost c. i. f.*	*Realized.* Tls.	Tls.
Woollens	£541,591	£597,514	1,942,024	
Metals	£16,543	£19,521	62,168	
Woollens from Penang	..	Dolls. 13,746	6,473	2,035,937
Cochineal (season 1817)	..	Tls. 56,635	25,272	
Cotton from Bombay	..	Rupees 1,926,399	732,075	
,, ,, Bengal	..	,, 365,435	164,233	
,, ,, Madras	..	,, 218,928	73,957	1,084,459
Sandalwood ,,	..	,, 235,460 / Pagodas 25,395 =	114,194	
		Total		3,120,396

The treasury was supplied in the following manner:

	Dollars.	Tls.
Imports realized as above		3,120,396
Drafts on London at 5*s.* and 365 days	381,421	
Certificates	19,539	
Cotton bonds of Company's commanders	576,985	
Dividend, estate of Thomas Beale	45,447	
,, Ponqua and Gnewqua	88,102	
	1,111,494 =	800,211
		3,920,607
Bullion shipped to Governor-General at Calcutta	400,000 =	288,000
Net Receipts		3,632,607

The investment by the 16 ships was invoiced at Tls. 4,089,847; in addition the stores for St. Helena at Tls. 38,161, and for the Cape of Good Hope at Tls. 23,506. Factory charges were Tls. 68,804.

The value of the trade under the British flag will be found in tables at the end of the chapter; the quantities of the principal commodities are as follows:

	Ships. No.	*Cotton.* Piculs.	*Tea.* Piculs.	*Raw Silk.* Piculs.	*Nankeens.* Pieces.
Company	16	68,808	158,141	360	191,700
Country & Private	35	323,842	13,156	1,882	606,800
	51	392,650	171,297	2,242	798,500

The tonnage of the country ships may be put at between 25,000 and 30,000 tons.

Under the American flag there were 44 ships of 15,410 tons,

an average of 350 tons. No particulars are given of their trade beyond the statement that 7 of 2,815 tons declared their destination to be ports in Europe; the only statistics available are those contained in the *Chinese Repository*[1] for the year ended March 31, 1819, and certain figures in the American Customs returns for the year ended June 30, 1818.

	Chinese Repository. Dollars.	*Customs Returns.* Dollars.
Opium imported at Canton	546,339	..
Other merchandise ,,	1,951,869	1,475,828
Treasure ,,	7,369,000	5,601,000
Total	9,867,208	7,076,828
Export of merchandise from Canton	9,057,107	

In the *Chinese Repository* the American shipping is given as 47 of 16,377 tons, the disbursements for which may be put at 329,000 dollars.

In March the question of contracts for tea for the ensuing season was taken into consideration, and it was found that opinion in the Committee was opposed to continuing them, the President being alone in approving of them, and being outvoted by his three colleagues. At a consultation in June they gave as their reasons against making the advances,

First, the difficulty of enforcing the standard of quality which had been contracted for;

Secondly, that advances supplied a larger capital to be sent into the tea districts, thereby raising the prices;

Thirdly, that the system encouraged the dealers to give greater care to the chops intended for the open market, than to those contracted for;

Fourthly, that fixing the price in advance tended to establish an inflexible minimum in the country districts;

Fifthly, that the quantity to be brought to market on the basis of past experience would probably suffice for the requirements of the present season; and

Lastly, 'because without a very strong case of necessity being

[1] Summarized in *International Relations*, vol. i, p. 89.

made out it would be impolitic to hazard the Company's Property in a Country where our footing is at all times precarious and where there is no mode of counteracting or of punishing the misconduct of the Merchants on whose behalf the advances may be made, but such as involves the subversion of the system we are desirous to uphold'.

The President's remedy for many of the objections was to follow their money into the hands of the tea brokers and maintain their control of its disposal; but the other members felt that the fifth and the last reasons were decisive, and they refused to give way. In making the contracts for the season, therefore, 'advances were generally refused', and the system which had been in operation since the season 1811 came to an end. During the consultation the Committee record the 'Amount of Import Duties in the 22nd year (1817) obtained through the Head Linguist from the Custom-house Books', as follows:

	Tls.		Tls.
Puiqua	77,900	Manhop	27,710
Mowqua	57,500	Poonequa	50,379
Puankhequa	39,100	Goqua	27,443
Chunqua	68,500	Kinqua	117,461
Conseequa	217,300	Fatqua	18,411
Exchin	126,122	Total	827,826

For the payment of these duties the Committee now advanced the cash required by the seven junior merchants; but in the years 1815 and 1816 Puiqua had lent the money, on the Company's guarantee, to the following amounts:

	Tls.		Tls.
Conseequa	18,900	Goqua	84,698
Exchin	93,711	Kinqua	58,375
Manhop	67,018	Fatqua	51,661
Poonequa	96,030	Total	470,393

On February 24, 1819, the Committee debited to the seven and credited Puiqua with the sum of Tls. 47,039, one year's interest at 10 per cent., and Tls. 18,375 repaid by Kinqua.

The Committee continued to have every confidence in Puiqua. When they left Canton at the end of March, 1818, the silver in their hands amounted to 603,591 dollars. Of these they retained

27,074 for use at Macao; and the balance, 576,517 dollars, they 'committed to the charge of Puiqua, the Senior Merchant'. Their plan of nursing the affairs of the junior merchants was successful in so far as their relations with the Company were concerned. The balances of their accounts at the beginning and the close of the season, in March, 1818, and in March, 1819, were as follows:

	1818. Tls.		*1819.* Tls.
Conseequa	Dr. 69,020	Cr.	86,411
Exchin	,, 71,465	Dr.	52,324
Manhop	,, 80,349	,,	4,547
Poonequa	,, 70,706	,,	17,361
Goqua	,, 84,618	,,	29,665
Fatqua	,, 102,678	,,	67,628
	,, 478,836	,,	171,525

The debit balances of five hongs were reduced by Tls. 238,291, and of six by Tls. 393,722.

The sixtieth birthday of the Emperor occurred during this season, and as it came near the officials of the Empire became eager in their desire to show their loyalty by their offerings. Those at Canton immediately and liberally assessed the amount which the Hong Merchants were expected to give as a free-will offering, and on May 30th,

> by a private letter which the President has received from Canton it appears that the local Govt. has fixed upon the Sum of 300,000 Tales as an Offering on the part of the Hong Merchants to the Emperor upon the attainment of his sixtieth year, which will take place this year, and which Sum is to be levied in Cash in two instalments in proportion to the respective amount of the duties paid to Govt. by each Hong . . . as some of the Junior Merchants will by the mode of levying exactions adopted in this country be rated more largely than those who carry on more profitable branches of the trade; and as the ultimate payment is intended to be effected by a Consoo charge of about 5 Mace per Pecul upon Cotton, and by a proportionate charge on other articles, a strong remonstrance on the part of the Committee will probably be requisite.

Assessing the merchants in proportion to the amount of duties they paid would be most unfair, since those who were most embarrassed obtained credit by assuming the future liability to

pay duties, as may be seen by a comparison of the figures on p. 333 with those on p. 313; but the main objection of the Committee was due to the certainty that the levy could be provided only by a further tax on the foreign trade, in order to add further to the Consoo Fund, which was already drawn upon for many payments outside its original purpose.[1] Puankhequa frankly acknowledged that the Hong Merchants 'had but a small personal interest in the question, as the contribution would be ultimately paid by the Foreign Trade'. Sir T. Metcalfe considered that a more equitable division, based on profits, would be:

	Tls.
Puiqua	70,000
Mowqua, Puankhequa, and Chunqua, each 40,000	120,000
Conseequa	20,000
Six Junior Hongs, 15,000 each	90,000

but 'Puiqua merely observed that it would be better to adhere to establish'd custom'. The junior merchants regarded the matter less philosophically, and wrote urging the new levy as an additional reason for continuing the advances on tea. On August 1st the Committee addressed a remonstrance to the Hoppo, closing with the words:

> that a voluntary Gift of the subjects of his Imperial Majesty on so happy an event should be extorted by those subjects from foreigners is so extremely unreasonable and unjust, that we feel confident your Exc'y on learning their intentions will forbid such a proceeding and direct it to be levied from their general profits.

On August 29th the Hoppo's answer was received; its general purport will be obtained from the Committee's comment on it:

> As the Hoppo here directly prohibits the sum to be presented to the Emperor being raised by a new impost on the Trade, and as the Merchants have postponed the period of rating their separate proportions of this contribution until the 24th and 25th years (1819 and 1820), it is unnecessary to pursue the subject, but at the same time the Junior Merchants solicit our assistance to provide their quotas it will remain with the Committee to decide what sums shall be advanced them. The unusually improper and insolent language used by the Merchants in their report to the Hoppo will require some animadversion.

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 309.

To the casual reader it would appear that the levy would still be borne by the Consoo Fund, i. e. by the foreign trade; but, so far as appears in the records, the Committee accepted the settlement.

During this season there were imported, at Canton and (so far as known) at Macao, English and American products to the value of upwards of 5 million dollars; and cotton, opium, and other Indian produce, to the value of 14 million dollars; making a total in goods of 19 million dollars. In addition the American traders imported 7⅓ million dollars in specie, and Spanish and Portuguese ships at Macao a further sum, the amount of which is not known and cannot even be guessed at. The total import fund was, therefore, not less than 26 million dollars. In the export trade the English Company's investment was 6 million dollars; the English country trade to India and private trade of the Company's commanders was 4 million dollars; the exports under the American flag, with a smaller tonnage, were reported at 9 million dollars; disbursements for factories and ships of the two flags were nearly 1 million dollars; exports under the Spanish and Portuguese flags are not recorded; and the total reported export of commodities did not exceed in cost 20 million dollars. There remained a sum of 6 million dollars to be returned to India; and, as the English Committee did not this season draw on India or (except for a sum of 400,000 dollars) on London, it became necessary to ship specie. It is known that 3 million dollars were shipped to India under the British flag, and it is surmised ('large amounts in Bullion') that possibly a similar sum was sent in Portuguese ships from Macao to India, the total even then falling short of the amount of specie introduced in American ships.

The attention of the Chinese authorities was drawn to this export of silver, which in their opinion, was pernicious; and as early as August it was reported that they had prohibited the export of dollars as well as of sycee. The Committee at the same time recorded that sycee was at a high price—a fact which probably indicates that it was in demand for (surreptitious) exportation. Nothing was done, however, until the following December, when the newly arrived Hoppo issued a mandate to the merchants, reviewing the proceedings and finally deciding

that each ship might be allowed to export in foreign money not exceeding three-tenths of the proceeds from her import cargo. The mandate is, moreover, important from the illustration given of the confused thought of the officials of the Empire.

> Foreign Ships annually import Dollars, sometimes three or four Millions, sometimes four or five Millions, but I find no documents containing a request to export Dollars, neither is there any official proclamation prohibiting the Exportation of Dollars. However it appears that commonly when any Ship had finished its transactions it took away its surplus funds in Dollars but the amount does not appear there being no duty on Dollars, and hence also no case appears on record concerning their Exportation. In the 19th Year of Kiaking (1814) an Imperial order was received prohibiting the Exportation of Sysee Silver and in the Copy of the Original Report to the Emperor the Importation of Foreign Money was forbidden. But it having been long the practise for Foreigners to bring Foreign Money to carry on their commercial transactions at Canton, and the same being a Convenience to our own Subjects, there was a request made not to forbid the importation of Foreign Money. The then Viceroy Tseang and the Hoppo Tseang united their seals in preferring the request, which was acceded to, and the usual mode of proceeding admitted of. These documents are on record.

This drain of specie was not occasioned, as will be seen from the tables, solely by the importation of opium ; but, if no opium had been imported, and if the quantities of other commodities had not been increased, the sum to be returned to India in specie would have been reduced from 6 million to 1 million dollars ; but it may equally be remarked that the returns of specie to India, including the proceeds of opium, were more than covered by the dollars introduced, unnecessarily, by the American ships. Up to and including the season 1816 the silver which would otherwise have been returned to India was absorbed into the Company's treasury in exchange for bills ; but during this season and that of 1817 the Committee had been steadily reducing the balances of their debtors, and had issued only a small amount in bills. The English Company in time resumed its issue of bills ; but the American traders continued for ten years their unnecessary importation of specie, and only in 1827 made a beginning, and in 1833 developed the practice, of taking bills on London from the United States to Canton, and

selling them there to the traders wishing to make remittances to India.

Although the Company had not since 1782 sent any opium to be sold in China for its own account, it was as a commercial undertaking much concerned in the success of its public sales in Calcutta, and, as an administrative body, its fiscal policy was influenced by the necessity of encouraging the buyers at those sales. They were threatened from two quarters, Smyrna and Malwa. With the first they could deal only commercially—by providing a better product at a lower price; but against the latter they might in India take administrative action. In May, 1818, a letter was written by the Vice-President in Council at Fort William to the Board of Trade of the same Presidency, a copy of which was sent to the Committee at Canton, calling for the opinion of the Board on the steps to be taken to protect the Calcutta sales. Premising that

> the quantity of opium heretofore obtained has uniformly fallen short of what Govt. and your Board have been accustomed to regard as the proper demand of the market,

it proceeded to establish the moral obligation.

> The nature of the article, or rather the passionate fondness for it which prevails among the inhabitants of China and the Eastern tribes, would probably secure a considerable consumption at any price, and altho' the sudden deprivation of the drug would almost certainly occasion great distress to those accustomed to the use of it, there is no moral obligation on Government to extend the manufacture. If therefore the market could be secured exclusively for the opium sold at the Calcutta sales, the Vice-President in Council is disposed to think that it might be expedient gradually to reduce the provision.

Such a reduction must, however, depend on a continuance of the high prices now realized, and even if Malwa opium could be prevented from being exported to the Eastern market, there remained open other sources of supply. The administration must, therefore, calculate, not on the basis of the quantity which could be marketed at the present high prices, but on the price at which competing opium could be supplied to the market. A statement was given showing the prices realized, the net profit, and quinquennial averages, at the Calcutta sales during twenty-one years, 1797–1817.

Year.	*Annual average sale price.* Rupees.	*Sales.* Chests.	*Annual net profit.* Rupees.	*Quinquennial Average Chests sold.*	*Net profits.* Rupees.
1797	415	4,172	983,514		
1798	775	4,054	2,370,706		
1799	688	4,570	2,302,764	4,009	2,384,378
1800	791	3,947	2,370,772		
1801	1,384	3,292	3,894,132		
1802	1,389	2,840	3,375,187		
1803	1,964	3,159	5,524,696		
1804	1,537	3,836	5,144,439	3,700	4,664,142
1805	988	4,126	3,315,219		
1806	1,510	4,538	5,976,169		
1807	1,213	4,208	4,310,188		
1808	1,551	4,560	6,199,870		
1809	1,628	4,968	7,155,880	4,718	6,008,173
1810	1,627	4,891	7,022,725		
1811	1,264	4,966	5,356,199		
1812	1,860	4,769	7,958,952		
1813	2,428	3,672	8,143,926		
1814	2,150	4,230	8,232,410		
1815	1,976	4,318	8,144,178	4,135	7,935,382
1816	2,178	3,085	7,197,466		
1817	1,785	3,552	5,568,188		

N.B.—In this table the fiscal year 1797 is from April, 1797, to March, 1798, and so on.

This letter was referred to Canton, and was answered by the Committee on February 20, 1819, in a letter from which the following notes are summarized:

The annual consumption of Bengal opium in China during several seasons past was estimated at 3,200 chests when the sale price did not exceed 1,200 dollars a chest, but with the increase in price [to 1,500 dollars] it had fallen to about 2,300 chests. Opium had been imported from Turkey for many years, but had only been used to adulterate the better and higher priced Bengal opium. The drug had been imported from the western provinces of India for many years but in insignificant quantities. In 1814 a combination among the foreign merchants in China raised the price of Bengal opium above what the market would stand, and led to the introduction of cheaper substitutes, until in the season 1817 the importation from Turkey was 1,900 piculs and from Western India 1,100 piculs. During the next season, 1818, the importation from these sources was still further enlarged, and in that season the import of Bengal opium was reduced. The Malwa opium was reported to have improved in quality, but there was no change in that from Turkey, and their obtaining a footing was due to their cheapness. The prices were as follows:

Bengal opium imported in season 1817 per chest 1,300 dollars
" " " " " 1818 " 840 "
Malwa opium . . . . . " 680 "

If the quality of Malwa continued to improve it would be a formidable competitor to the Bengal opium, which could only be prevented by restrictions placed on it in India. With the artificial enhancement of the price realised for Bengal drug, a great stimulus had been given to other varieties, and in the past two seasons the total brought to market had about doubled. They concluded however that, while they could not recommend any increase in the production of Bengal opium, they yet thought that about 3,000 chests a year might be sold in China at a fair price; but they repeated that, if the quality of Malwa continued to improve, and if no restriction were placed on it in India, it would prove a formidable competitor.

The winding-up of the estate of Thomas Beale was much obstructed. The arrangement made in November, 1817, by which certain sums were to be paid by Senhor Arriaga and the Baron de St. José do Porto Alegré, was not carried out; and in November, 1818, Mr. Molony as one of the nominees of Mr. Beale's creditors reported to the Select Committee, of which he was also a member, that the negotiations with the two Portuguese debtors had been broken off. He advised that the appeal to Rio de Janeiro should be initiated; and as his health required that he should in any case ask for leave to return to England, he offered his services in conducting the appeal, either at once, or after having gone to England and laid the whole case before the Court of Directors. The Committee welcomed this proposal, but

as Mr. Molony's proceeding direct to Rio Janeiro or even from St. Helena would throw him into the hands of the Colonial Secretary to whom the papers would be officially referred and who is known to be the bribed friend and interested ally of Mr. Arriaga, the Committee consider it would be adviseable in the first instance that he should proceed to England and . . . lay the papers before the Hon'ble Court soliciting their interference with His Majesty's Ministers and if supported by them at the Court of Brazils there cannot exist a doubt that the removal of Mr. Arriaga must be effected a point highly desireable in a political and commercial view to England and which Justice loudly calls for.

At a later meeting of the creditors Mr. Molony was authorized to submit to arbitration and to settle claims on Mr. Thomas Beale's estate preferred by his brother, Mr. Daniel Beale. The claims of the Company on the opium deposited as collateral were not pressed, and some amount was recovered by the creditor's nominees for the general benefit; but 150 chests deposited with

Messrs. A. L. Barretto & Co., who had gone bankrupt in the summer of 1818, were detained by that firm on the ground that they served as security for a sum of 150,000 dollars, due from Mr. Thomas Beale, but not paid. Mr. Molony left for England on December 2nd, being replaced as nominee of the creditors by Mr. Bosanquet, and on the Select Committee by Mr. Robarts.

At the end of September H.M. brig *Bacchus* arrived and proceeded to Chuenpi. The Hoppo wrote to the President complaining that she had come up without a pilot, and asking why the King's ships continued to come. On October 5th the comprador attending the ship was prevented from delivering his supplies and deprived of his licence by the officer at the Bogue forts, whereupon her commander, Captain Parkins, wrote to the Viceroy a letter, complaining of the action. On the 7th

Puankhequa and Mowqua called on the President and stated that the Viceroy had opened Capt. Parkins letter and had expressed much surprise and anger at being addressed by a naval officer considering that all communications with the head of the local Govt. should be confined to the President alone, whose situation was in his opinion slighted by any deviation from this Rule.

On the subject-matter of the letter, the Viceroy declared that he could find no record of any grant of permission for ships to lie at Chuenpi, and produced an imperial decree, issued in the 10th year of Kiaking (1805) forbidding ships of war to enter the inner waters. The Viceroy, in his mandate, continued:

All affairs in the world may be reduced to Law, Reason and Favor, these three words embrace the whole of human transactions. As to Law Chuenpee is not legally the right place to anchor. As to Reason, at Cabareta Point and the Typa are already Ross and the other ship; Parkins may very well rest and eat where they do. As to Favor, I have conferred upon Parkins a Bullock, sheep and fresh provisions in the most gracious manner. And the Chief of the said Nation has long been blessed with the gracious Bounty of the Great Emperor and he well knows the Laws of the Celestial Empire, he ought to instruct and lead to obedience the refractory and to restrain them.

The President gave the merchants to understand that the *Bacchus* would leave soon, and, without further correspondence, they arranged in such way that she was supplied with provisions and remained unmolested at Chuenpi.

While in general the Indiamen were chartered at 1,200 tons

and were actually of 1,350 to 1,450 tons builder's measurement, in each year some were of a smaller burthen. In this season the *Moffatt* was of about 825 tons, and the *Regent* of about 875 tons, builder's measurement. On February 22, 1819,

Upon the receipt on the 18th of a letter from Captain Lee, Conseequa and the Linguist of the Ship were desired to proceed to the Hoppos office and to apprize that officer of the difficulty under which the *Moffatt* was placed in consequence of the attempt to exact the same exorbitant Fee from the Compradore who might secure her as from the Compradore of a large Ship. They returned and asserted that the Hoppos Secretary had written to the Custom House people at Whampoa directing them to rate the *Moffatt* in proportion only to her size, and we had the satisfaction to learn on the 20th that the affair was arranged. Yesterday the Linguist of the *Regent* came and reported that the License for that Ship to proceed to the 2nd Bar had been stopped in consequence of her Compradore not having paid the usual Fee. As it was of great importance that no impediment should be thrown in the way of this Ship's lading Mowqua was called upon to adopt the readiest means of obtaining the license. He directed the Linguist to proceed with the Compradore to Whampoa and to promise the payment of the sum demanded. This at the first view appeared to entail an hardship upon the latter, who would be compelled to submit to the Custom House exactions, but it was subsequently explained that the Man had brought the difficulty of his situation upon himself by consenting unguardedly to supply the *Regent* on the usual terms of a Company's Ship. In the evening the Linguist returned and said that the Compradore had refused to give any promise, and that he had himself been obliged to become Security for the payment of the Fees, on which condition the license had been granted and the Pilot had joined the Ship.

The commander of the *Regent* having produced an authorization from East India House to grant the 30 tons additional privilege, the commander of the *Moffatt* claimed the same privilege for himself and his officers. In acceding to the claim, the Committee wrote:

We require further that these 30 tons shall consist of small Boxes of Tea to be stowed only in such places within the limits assigned by Charter-party as will not exclude Company's Cargo. . . . The undermentioned proportions of the 30 Tons are the allotment to yourself and Officers, to whom you will make known the terms on which the Indulgence is granted:

	Tons.		Tons.
Commander . .	19	3rd mate . . .	1½
Chief mate . .	4	4th ,, . . .	½
2nd ,, . . .	2½	Surgeon . . .	2½

It is to be presumed that this was the customary division of the indulgence—except in those cases in which the whole was appropriated by the commander.

On August 12th Messrs. Bosanquet, Plowden, and Millet landed at Macao on their return from England. Mr. Plowden was accompanied by his wife. The assignment of duty to those below the Committee, together with the salary of those not sharing in the commission, was as follows:

	Dollars.
Mr. Toone, Secretary	
Mr. Bosanquet, Superintendent of Exports	
Mr. Plowden, „ „ „ Imports	
Mr. Millett, Accountant	
Mr. Bannerman, to copy the first Consultation Book . .	2,500
Mr. Marjoribanks, Auditor of Accounts, and assist in the Secret Department	2,500
Mr. Davis, to superintend the Office & form Current Diary .	2,083
Mr. Daniell, to copy the second Consultation Book . .	1,667
Mr. Smith, Deputy Accountant and exempted from Tea weighing for study of Chinese	1,250
Mr. Jackson, to assist generally the Office	1,250
In addition to these the technical staff:	
Mr. Ball, Tea Inspector	10,417
Mr. Reeves, Asst. do	4,167
Mr. Pearson, Surgeon	5,417
Mr. Livingstone do	4,167
Mr. Morrison, Translator & Teacher	4,167
Mr. Thoms, Printer	1,250

A declaration of non-interest in private agency was signed by each supercargo in the following form:

I . . . . Supra Cargo at Canton in China for the Ships taken up in 1817 employed in the service of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies do declare upon my honor that I am wholly unconcerned in private agency of any kind whatsoever, agreeably to the 45th Para: of the Orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the 18th Dec. 1816.

THE IMPORT TRADE OF CANTON, SEASON 1818

VALUES IN DOLLARS.

Goods.	*British.*			*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*			
Woollens	2,706,118	..	2,706,118	..	..	..
Metals	86,343	..	86,343	..	..	..
Furs	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Western products	35,100	54,800	89,900	..	..	..
Western products	2,827,561	54,800	2,882,361	1,951,869	..	4,834,230
Cotton	1,347,586	5,534,916	6,882,502	..	..	..
Opium, Bengal	..	1,358,000	1,358,000 [1]	..	..	..
,, Turkish	..	..	..	546,339	..	..
Sandalwood	158,603	67,500	226,103	..	..	..
Tin, Banka	..	188,138	188,138	..	..	..
Pepper	..	194,096	194,096	..	..	..
Other Eastern produce	..	1,316,822	1,316,822	..	..	..
Eastern produce	1,506,189	8,659,472	10,165,661	546,339	..	10,712,000
Total Goods	4,333,750	8,714,272	13,048,022	2,498,208	..	15,546,230
Silver	..	..	..	7,369,000	..	7,369,000
Imports, Whampoa	4,333,750	8,714,272	13,048,022	9,867,208	..	22,915,230
Trade at Macao :						
Opium, Bengal	..	..	..	..	1,820,000 [2]	..
,, Malwa	..	..	..	..	1,215,000 [3]	..
Cotton, Indian	..	..	..	..	250,000	..
	..	..	..	..	3,285,000	3,285,000
Total Imports into Area	4,333,750	8,714,272	13,048,022	9,867,208	3,285,000	26,200,230

THE EXPORT TRADE OF CANTON, SEASON 1818

VALUES IN DOLLARS.

Goods.	*British.*					
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*	*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
Ships : Number	16	35	51	44	..	95
Tonnage	21,500	27,500	49,000	15,410	..	64,410
Exports :						
Tea	5,507,065	436,566	5,943,631	..	..	..
Raw Silk	182,271	632,030	814,301	..	..	..
Silk Piece Goods	..	300,000	300,000	..	..	..
Nankeens	166,167	550,000	716,167	..	..	..
Tutenague [1]	..	480,634	480,634	..	..	..
Other commodities	90,100	1,726,965	1,817,065	..	..	..
Exports	5,945,603	4,126,195	10,071,798	9,057,107	..	19,128,905
Silver	400,000	2,688,679	3,088,679	..	3,000,000 [2]	6,088,679
	6,345,603	6,814,874	13,160,477	9,057,107	3,000,000	25,217,584
Disbursements :						
Port Dues	96,728					
Factory Expenses	85,228	286,000	611,956	220,000	..	..
Ship Expenses	144,000					
Survey of China Sea	59,996	..	59,996	..	..	..
	385,952	286,000	671,952	220,000	..	891,952
Cost of Investment	6,731,505	7,100,874	13,832,429	9,277,107	3,000,000	26,109,536

[1] Actual shipments 34,331 piculs.

[2] Large amounts in bullion from Macao to India.

LXXVI

OPIUM AT MACAO AND WHAMPOA, 1819

For the season 1819 the Select Committee was composed of Sir T. J. Metcalfe (President) and Messrs. James Brabazon Urmston and Francis Hastings Toone. From November 20th it was composed of Mr. J. B. Urmston (President), Sir William Fraser, Bart., and Mr. F. H. Toone. From January 20, 1820, Mr. Toone's place was taken by Mr. William Bosanquet. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Robarts had gone home at the close of the previous season, Sir T. J. Metcalfe on November 20th, and Mr. Toone on January 20th, all on medical certificate. The books were opened on March 20th with the following balances:

	Tls.
Cr. by Silver in treasury, 781,885 dollars	562,957
Winter teas in stock	692,859
Woollens unsold	242,895
Anchors, medicines and Vigonia	2,644
Factory account	6,409
Loan on factories	69,602
Estate of Thomas Beale	149,067
,, ,, Ponqua and Gnewqua	146,795
Hong Merchants, the six junior (except Kinqua)	481,363
Credit Balance	2,354,591

In the above assets Conseequa owed the Company Tls. 201,851, and within a month received further advances of 157,000 dollars; but by the end of August he had paid in from sales of camlets of the preceding season 159,600 dollars.

During the season the Company loaded for London 24 ships of about 26,679 tons builder's measurement, of which 7 brought woollens from England, 13 cotton from India, one pepper from Benkulen, and 3 in ballast from St. Helena. Their import cargoes realized as follows:

	Invoice cost.		*Realized.*	
	f. o. b.	*c. i. f.*	Tls.	Tls.
Woollens	£565,523	£628,564	1,653,613	1,736,650
Metals	£16,356	£19,185	83,037	
Cotton, Bombay / Sikka		Rupees 3,150,354	1,122,628	1,235,623
Sandalwood Sikka		Rupees 160,930	57,802	
Pepper		Dollars 43,903	55,193	
Total				2,972,273

The treasury was supplied as follows:

	Dollars.
From credits as above, Tls. 2,354,591	3,270,265
,, imports as above, Tls. 2,972,273	4,128,157
,, London bills at 5*s.* 3*d.* and 30 days	192,602
,, Bengal bills at 200 Sa Rup. ₹ 100 Dollars	396,510
,, Certificates	87,700
,, Estate, Ponqua and Gnewqua, Tls. 63,434	88,102
	8,163,336

In addition the Committee in February, 1920, borrowed from Howqua a sum of 400,000 dollars, paying interest at 1 per cent. a month. The investment by the homeward-bound Indiamen was invoiced at Tls. 5,727,459, in addition to Tls. 16,455 for the Cape of Good Hope, and Tls. 42,310 for St. Helena. The factory expenses amounted to Tls. 69,589.

There were at Whampoa in this season 17 country ships of about 13,000 tons, and 39 American ships of 13,641 tons.

The main particulars of the trade during the season were as follows:

	Ships. No.	*Cotton.* Piculs.	*Tea.* Piculs.	*Raw Silk.* Piculs.	*Woven Silks.* Piculs.	*Nankeens.* Pieces.
English { Company	24	95,772	213,882	836	..	203,700
English { Private	17	138,174	12,249	2,777	1,000	223,300
American	39	19,149	76,447	507	5,119	2,932,000
	80	253,095	302,578	4,120	6,119	3,359,000

For the American trade in addition we have the same sources of information as for the preceding season,[1] viz.:

		Chinese Repository. Dollars.	*American Customs.* Dollars.
Imports:	Opium	121,860	..
	Other merchandise	1,804,640	2,603,151
	Treasure	6,259,300	7,414,000
		8,185,800	10,017,151
Exports:	Merchandise	8,173,000	
	Disbursements	301,000	
		8,474,000	

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 332.

There were no arrivals at Whampoa of ships under other flags noted in the records, but the Dutch kept a skeleton factory at Macao. The census of residents in April, 1819, outside the English Company's factory, was as follows:

Dutch: Messrs. Bletterman and Zeeman.

Spanish: Don L. Calvo and Sr. J. Barcaistegui.

Americans: Mr. B. C. Wilcocks, Consul.
Mr. I. P. Cushing, and several private merchants.

Swedish: Sir Andrew Ljungstedt.

Prussians: Mr. C. Magniac, Consul.
Mr. H. Magniac, Vice-Consul.
Mr. D. Magniac, Secretary.

English: Mr. W. S. Davidson, under protection from the Court of Portugal.

British Subjects without Licence or Protection:
Mr. Robert Taylor from Bengal.
Mirwajee Monockjee, Johangee Framjee and other Parsees } from Bombay.
Mr. G. M. Baboom claims the American privilege of residing in Canton.

Mr. Beale, a British subject, succeeded by Mr. Magniac, also a British subject, had represented the King of Prussia for a number of years, was at first protested against, but soon tolerated as a useful and honourable adjunct in the commercial world. Mr. Reid, a British subject, had long represented the King of Denmark, had been tolerated, but had disappeared with the cessation of the Danish trade. The Swedish trade had also ceased, and there were now no supercargoes; but Sweden was represented as Consul by Sir Andrew Ljungstedt. He was joined in August, 1819, by a British subject, Mr. Robert Berry, who informed the President that

> he was about to establish a House of Agency in conjunction with Sir Andrew Ljungstedt a Swedish gentleman and at the same time presented a document in Latin represented as a diploma from the Court of Sweden signed Carolus and dated the 22nd Sept'r 1813 appointing Mr. R. Berry Swedish Agent for Commercial Concerns in the City of Canton and in the East Indies.

Mr. Berry had spent the interval in the Île de France. The

Committee were, under their instructions, obliged to inform him that the protection of a foreign sovereign could not absolve him from his subjection to the laws of his own country, and that they could not sanction his stay in China. As, however,

> he is well known in China and his character fully established by the Punctuality of his former Commercial Transactions in this Country we do not consider that his residence will interfere with the Interests of the Hon'ble Company or that the exertion of the Power with which we are invested will be called for.

In the case of Mr. Watts, who the Court directed should be treated as a British subject, notwithstanding his Austrian protection, the Committee reported that

> Mr. Watts quitted China at the close of last season in a Portuguese Ship bound to Rio de Janeiro.

At the close of the previous season the senior merchants made a difficulty about taking the Long Ells, trying to secure longer credit and a reduction in the price. The Committee thereupon held back 22,000 pieces and enlisted the services of the junior merchants to dispose of them, on a commission of 3 per cent., direct to the retail dealers. In this way in April they disposed of all the 22,000 pieces at three months' credit. Ordinarily the Long Ells were sold at a flat rate with a fixed assortment of colours,[1] but this sale was effected at the following prices:

6,990	pieces	black at 8 dollars
4,180	,,	purple at 12 dollars
5,790	,,	Mazarine blue at 10½ dollars
4,110	,,	scarlet at 24 dollars
930	,,	various colours at 10 to 15 dollars.

In this way, after paying 3 per cent. commission to the Hong Merchants who acted as brokers, a sum of Tls. 199,017 was realized for the Long Ells, which stood in the books at Tls. 197,863. Because of this success the Committee were able in November to contract to deliver the importation of the current season to the four senior merchants at the flat rate of Tls. 9·50 with three months' credit; but in less than two months the merchants reported their inability to obtain this price on the market. The Committee met this with cold disapproval, but they record their

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 161.

conviction that both Puiqua and Mowqua have rigidly and honorably adhered to their agreement,

the implication being that the fault lay with Puankhequa and Chunqua. The merchants were informed that they were free to dispose of their stocks at such prices as they could obtain, but an end was put to the plan devised by the Court of Directors of placing a reserved moiety of the Long Ells direct with the tea dealers, the Hong Merchants acting only as brokers. Being thus deprived of cash on which they had counted, the Committee in February borrowed 400,000 dollars from Puiqua. They were thus in a position to make payments amounting to 1,194,992 dollars on February 15th, thus enabling the merchants to settle their accounts before the Chinese New Year. On March 20th, the market not having yet recovered, the Committee record that their inability to realize their price for the reserved moiety

may be attributed to the secret but equally active hostility of the Hong Merchants, and the combination formed by the drapers to defeat any plans tending to divert the Long Ells from their former channel of sale, under the hope that at the conclusion of the present season our necessities might compel us to submit to sacrifice in effecting sales under such terms as they might dictate, or that by our consenting to their Barter for Winter Teas, the value of the Commodity might again become depressed.

The drapers' shelves were admittedly bare, and the Committee did not despair of obtaining their price, Tls. 9·50, or deducting the duty, Tls. 8 net, after the close of the season.

The tea contracts for the season, after the purchase of 34,273 chests of Congou as winter tea, were made in March, 1819, as follows :

	Bohea. Chests.	*Congou.* Chests.	*Twankay.* Chests.	*Silk.* Piculs.	*Nankeens.* Pieces.
Puiqua	..	21,000	5,000	300	50,000
Mowqua	..	20,000	5,000	..	20,000
Puankhequa	..	21,000	5,000	..	..
Chunqua	..	20,000	5,000	..	..
Conseequa	3,250	15,000	5,000	..	90,000
Exchin	..	15,000	3,500	..	..
Manhop	4,650	14,000	3,500	..	..
Poonequa	2,250	10,000	3,500	..	..
Goqua	4,650	10,000	3,500	..	..
Kinqua	2,150	10,000	3,500	..	..
Fatqua	..	10,000	3,500	..	..
Unallotted	..	4,000	..	..	40,000
	16,950	170,000	46,000	300	200,000

It will be observed that the old proportions are all upset, and that there is very little difference in the amounts allotted to the senior and to the junior merchants, since it was now the policy of the Committee to give all possible support to the juniors. It is further to be noted that, whereas in former years all, or nearly all, of the nankeens were white, in these contracts are included 180,000 brown and 20,000 white.

A month after making their contracts the Committee were confronted by a combination of the tea dealers against them and the Hong Merchants. The dealers had decided on a new rule:

> Should any Hong have contracted for Tea, on the day that it arrives at Canton it shall be divided into two heaps from which two musters shall be taken and presented to the Company to be examined. If the Company approves of it, the Hong Merchants shall be allowed to select the Chop and re-examine the tea. If the Chops are not agreeable to muster they may be returned to the Tea Merchant; if they be agreeable to muster it is then to be considered that the Hong Merchants have actually received the tea. If when the Hong Merchants deliver the tea to the Company, it is found not to agree with the muster, the error must be considered to be the Hong Merchants, and the Company may make such equitable deduction as they think fit.

This was an attempt to resist passing on to the tea dealers the deductions in price which the Company imposed on the Hong Merchants, and the junior merchants wrote that they had perforce acceded to the demand; Puiqua also wrote that he saw no way of resisting it. The junior merchants hinted that a resumption of the practice of giving advances would enable them to send their own agents to the tea districts, and thereby defeat the schemes of the tea dealers. The Committee paid no attention to this appeal, but, writing to Puiqua on April 26th, they declared that

> in the present state of their [the junior] Hongs a compliance with such a proposition is impossible—it would endanger the whole profits of their transactions appropriated to the payment of their Debts and deprive their creditors of this resource. It would be better to proceed to breaking the Hongs.

The junior Hongs were assured of the co-operation of the Committee in any effort they might make to resist the combination of the tea dealers, with the alternative of being made bankrupt. The result of this policy could not be known until the season was

fully developed, towards the close of the year, when the deliveries of tea should begin.

The junior Hongs had improved their position, notwithstanding the extra calls made on them. In June they wrote appealing for help to meet some calls on the Consoo fund, payment of which was then due: one for the congratulatory offering on the Emperor's sixtieth birthday, one as commutation for tribute in kind, one to purchase ginseng for presentation to the Court. For the Emperor's birthday Tls. 300,000 had been offered from the merchants of Canton, but, as prearranged, only two-thirds had been accepted; of the Tls. 200,000 remaining one-half was to be paid in the summer, one-half in the next winter; and the Committee voted to advance the first half with the threat that

this assistance will certainly be withheld for the second instalment in December from those who continue to speculate in Cotton or make large purchases of the articles of Import.

At the same time the Committee advanced the money required to enable the junior Hongs to pay the import duties then due from them. The following table shows, first, the division of the Tls. 100,000, the first instalment of the birthday offering; second, the Committee's advances to meet the birthday offering; third, the advance for import duties:

	Emperor's Birthday.	*Committee's Advances.*		
		Birthday.	*Duties.*	*Total.*
	Tls.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Puiqua	19,244	..	..	..
Mowqua	7,982	..	..	..
Puankhequa	4,689	..	..	..
Chunqua	13,424	..	..	..
Conseequa	4,097	..	..	..
Exchin	11,109	15,000	40,000	55,000
Manhop	4,911	7,000	30,000	37,000
Poonequa	6,879	10,000	40,000	50,000
Goqua	4,118	6,000	40,000	46,000
Kinqua	20,037	loan for a round sum of		100,000
Fatqua	3,510	5,000	32,000	37,000
	100,000	43,000	182,000	325,000

Consideration of the question of advancing the money required for the other demands on the Consoo fund was postponed to a later date. The state of indebtedness of the seven junior Hongs on July 1, 1819, was as follows:

	Tls.
Conseequa	257,299
Exchin	140,788
Manhop	122,462
Poonequa	152,204
Goqua	110,305
Kinqua	90,000
Fatqua	140,348
	1,013,406
Deduct woollens sold by Conseequa and Poonequa	103,392
	910,014
Compares with indebtedness, July, 1818	1,034,551

In November musters of 231,000 chests of Congou were sent in by the Hong Merchants and examined, with the result that 155,340 were accepted and 75,660 rejected; moreover of those accepted only 23,000 chests were given the character of 'good ordinary to but middling' and over, while 44,800 were classified as 'preferable to good ordinary', and 87,500 as 'good ordinary'. In making the March contracts the price of 'good ordinary to but middling' had been reduced from Tls. 29, at which it had stood for several years past, to Tls. 28, and the Committee understood that the four senior merchants had acquiesced; but now, in November, the merchants repudiated the idea. Then the two parties began to squabble, the Committee charging that the quality had deteriorated in recent years, the merchants declaring that the appreciation was more strict and that the teas now classified as 'good ordinary' were of the same quality as those that had in former years been appreciated in a higher quality. The merchants further alleged that the price of Tls. 28 was for a new appreciation intermediate between the 'good ordinary to but middling' at Tls. 29, and the 'pref. to good ordinary' at Tls. 27, and on this basis the Committee felt obliged to compromise.

The tea dealers resumed their campaign on December 4th, when the Hong Merchants informed the Committee that they

> strongly deprecated the extreme rigor and severity which they alleged governed both our appreciations and reductions at the weighings that this had incensed the Tea Merchants who were resolved unanimously to persist in some plans that should exempt them from the operation of such harsh scrutiny and the merchants . . . urged an occasional reference to their judgement, when the inferiority of the Teas was reported

by our Inspectors, before they were finally examined and sanction pronounced by us. . . . The principal feature in the demands of the manufacturers we find to be a retention of the Teas in their own warehouses where the Hong Merchant is to select as many chests as he deems requisite, and when examined and approved the sale is to be considered definitive, and no longer subject to the reduction we may find it necessary to make at the weighing.

This claim would have transferred the final decision on the teas from the Committee to the tea dealers, and it was rejected. On December 17th the examination of the green tea musters was completed, and the following purchases were made:

Hyson	10,262 chests at Tls.	44 to 65
Hyson Skins	3,709 ,, ,,	23 to 34
Twankay	42,328 ,, ,,	24 to 34

Two days later the tea dealers sent a letter explaining their position, the vital point being that all teas were to be bought by muster, and were to remain in the dealers' warehouses until accepted by the Committee, after which there was to be no reduction in the appreciation and price. The two parties were now at issue: the tea dealers refused to deliver except on their own terms, but faced by heavy charges for interest, which would be heavier if their accounts were not settled at the Chinese New Year, at mid-February this year; the Committee refusing to buy except with liberty to reject or lower the price of teas which were not up to muster, but faced by the heavy expense of keeping twenty-four Indiamen idle in port, liable to be detained until such time that they must take the Eastern Passage and make a winter rounding of the Cape of Good Hope. For some days both sides stood firm. On January 8, 1820, one or two of the tea merchants weakened and consented to accept a winter price of Tls. 17 for their teas; but the generality still held out until, on January 22nd, moved thereto by some of the Hong Merchants, the Namhoi Hien issued a proclamation denouncing the combination as unlawful, and ordering the tea men to arrest their ringleader and deliver him up, if he persisted in inciting them to acts in restraint of trade. This broke up the combination, and the Committee were able even to punish the 'leaders of the cabal'—

They are represented as having suffered severe pecuniary losses and

as inevitably ruined, should we persist in our resolution of refusing to receive their Teas and declining any future dealings with them.

Under these circumstances the Committee on February 22nd recorded that they were forgiven.

The ships' compradors acted as purveyors and ministering angels to the ships on their arrival off Macao and during their stay at Whampoa; they took out the pilots, and supplies of the fresh provisions which were so much wanted after the long voyage; and some one comprador had the monopoly of purveying for each ship. For this monopoly they had, of course, to divide their profits with the authorities. The smaller irregular gratuities to be given to the subordinates might be made the subject of bargaining; but the larger fees due to the superiors must be paid if they would avoid trouble. Now that peace was once more established, greater control was exercised over the expenditure of ships, and the profits of the compradors were correspondingly reduced; but the fees paid went on increasing year by year, and were now twice the amount paid thirty years previously. They found it difficult to indicate exactly where the increase had come; but they pointed to two imposts. When the Viceroy had visited Macao after Admiral Drury's occupation in 1808 he ordered that all compradors must be registered by the Künming Fu, for which the fee was 49½ dollars; and when the American ship *Wabash* was raided in 1817 by a boat disguised as a comprador's boat, such boats were thereafter to be registered by the Künming Fu, with a fee of 34 dollars a year. In July they announced that their boats would no longer go out to meet incoming ships to take a pilot to them; and they deprecated in advance the anger of the Committee, and asked that the commanders should be urged to be patient and not to demand the immediate appointment of a comprador, but to give them time to come to terms with the authorities. They promised to send boats outside to meet the incoming ships, which were then to send their own boats to Macao for an inside pilot (fee 60 dollars); and they undertook to send live pigs and bullocks to Lintin, so that the ships' crews might have patience to wait at Whampoa for fresh provisions. The Indiamen began to come in during September, and the Hoppo's officers made promises in profusion to the compradors, who thereupon began to supply the ships;

but on November 8th several commanders informed Mr. Urmston that

> in consequence of the infraction of the agreement lately concluded between the Hoppo's Officers and the Compradors the latter had refused to continue the supply of the Ships and that no fresh provisions were to be obtained.

The Hoppo's officers had so arranged that the reduction in the payments to be made by the compradors fell on the subordinate officers, and they

> being enraged at the deduction from their perquisites were resolved to take notice of the slightest transgression on the part of those in whose favor this regulation was operating, and in the present case one of the Compradors having been detected in a trifling deviation from the Custom House Regulations was immediately put in irons and ill treated. Owing to these disputes the Ships have been without provisions.

The Hong Merchants intervened and the dispute was settled; but it is not recorded whether the merchants and the compradors profited, or the compradors paid and the officers profited, or the officers surrendered their perquisites.

On October 23rd a small boat from the Company's ship *Essex* was on the way from Whampoa to Canton with only a coxswain and five boys on board, when it was stopped by a Customs galley and searched. An earthen pot with 10–12 pounds weight of Malwa opium was discovered and seized. Manhop, the Security Merchant, was in great distress and anxious for a settlement before the case became important by being brought to the notice of the higher authorities. Late on the evening of the same day he brought word that, by the payment of 6,000 dollars, he

> had ensured the silence of the Mandarins and the subject was entirely compromised, and we congratulate ourselves that a discovery so pregnant with difficulties to the present restrictions on our future commerce is thus put at rest with such apparently small exertion.

Besides feeling this fear the Committee were annoyed that the smuggled opium was the contraband Malwa product, and that some one on board had contravened the standing orders which year after year had been incorporated in the sailing orders of the Company's ships from Indian ports, and had been in those of the *Essex*, and of the other ships of this season from Bombay:

> You will take the most particular care that no opium be laden on

your Ship by yourself, your officers or any other person as the Importation of that article at China is positively forbidden and serious consequences may result from your neglect of this Injunction.

In the sequel Manhop charged the 6,000 dollars to the account of Captain Nisbet commanding the *Essex*; but he protested that he was ignorant of the smuggling, and moreover, he had bought the whole of his investment, including 66 tons of tea, from Manhop, who must have made large profits from the captain's private trade. The Committee drew a distinction between Captain Nisbet the merchant and Captain Nisbet the representative of the owners of the *Essex*, and they denied the right of Manhop to include the fine in the account of the captain's private trade. At the same time they wished to spur their commanders to increased vigilance, and, advancing 3,000 dollars to Manhop, they demanded from Captain Nisbet a bond for the repayment of this sum by his owners to the Company.

Under date of November 23, 1819, the Governor of Macao, Senhor José Osorio de Castro Cabral y Albuquerque, sent to the Committee certain proposals affecting the opium trade, with a covering dispatch in which he complained of the increased port charges and high duties imposed on shipments of cotton by Portuguese ships from British Indian ports, and expressed his conviction that the necessity had long been obvious of framing a new and more favourable agreement than that made in 1805. His new project had already received the approval of the loyal Senate, and, in an abbreviated form, was as follows:

1° An Opium mart to be set up in Bombay, similar to that in Calcutta and enjoying the same monopoly.

2° The quantity of Opium to be sold in these marts should be settled by agreement; at the outset the market seemed to call for 2,000 to 2,500 chests of Northern (Malwa) and 2,500 to 3,000 chests of Bengal Opium.

3° The Portuguese government, in indemnification of its loss from the surrender of so valuable a trade, to receive a quantity of Opium in each year, the quantity and terms to be settled by agreement. A similar arrangement had been made with the French and the Dutch.

4° Ships bona fide the property of residents of Macao to be on a footing of equality with British ships as regards Port Charges and Customs Duties.

5° For permission to import 5,000 chests of Opium the English

Company to pay to the Macao Custom House annually the sum of Tls. 100,000, with reduction in proportion as the quantity is less.

In justification of the pretensions of the Portuguese it was pointed

out that, without their co-operation, this plan could not be carried into execution, nor indeed could the importation of Opium at all be effected, whether from the Mart proposed or from Calcutta, were His Most Faithful Majesty in compliance with the requisitions of the Imperial Government to feel himself compelled to prohibit that commerce in Macao Port, reserved to the Portuguese alone.

This project remained a project; for the Portuguese were mistaken in thinking that their co-operation was essential for the prosecution of this contraband trade. Already their attempt to monopolize for their own benefit this profitable trade had brought the English and Indian traders to realize that they must develop it at Whampoa, and was in time to drive it to Lintin. On March 7, 1820, Mr. Davidson, who was in China in opposition to the orders of the English Committee, but under the protection of the Court of Portugal, wrote to the Committee regarding his brig *Mentor*:

The Consoo and Security Merchant have assured us that a seizure of the property and vessel may be apprehended by her continuing at Whampoa and have earnestly recommended us to dispatch her to prevent greater misfortunes, it being now too notorious that she is lying here for the purpose of an Opium Godown.

Messrs. W. S. Davidson & Co. then asked if the Committee thought it would be wise to send the brig away. In a consultation the minute was recorded that

We have been given to understand through direct channels that the use and employment of the Brig *Mentor* as an Opium Vessel has been brought so openly to the notice of the Canton Govt. as to preclude the possibility of any connivance on their part at her further stay and Manhop the Security Merchant for the Brig has expressed to us his apprehensions of a search being carried into effect and his fear of the consequences which would result to himself therefrom.

Under these circumstances the Committee unhesitatingly advised Mr. Davidson to send his brig away without delay. It is worthy of special note that Manhop, a Hong Merchant, was Security for this brig lying at Whampoa and serving notoriously as a warehouse for the storage and sale of Opium.

The Court of Directors complained that 'an Edict against the importation of Turkey Opium', which they had observed in the *American Gazette*, had not been brought to their notice by the Committee, and the following explanation was returned:

Our knowledge that this Edict was received by the Americans as a matter of mere form, its tenor being similar to some issued against the Portuguese, and that it would in no degree influence this branch of commerce induced an opinion on our part that it did not possess intrinsic importance sufficient to entitle it to a place in our records.

Not because of prohibitory edicts, but owing to the new competition with Malwa opium, the importation of Turkey opium in American ships showed some diminution, although it did not disappear: in the ten years 1811–1820 the average annual importation was 230 chests, and in the seven years 1821–1827 it was 141 chests, again rising in the six years 1828–1833 to 857 chests.[1] An American merchant, Mr. J. P. Cushing, in this season remitted 300,000 dollars from America to Calcutta,

where he sold the dollars and exchanged the proceeds with his correspondents in Bengal for Bills on mercantile Houses in Canton at the rate of 193 Sicca Rupees for 100 Dollars, to meet which drafts a quantity of Opium has been consigned to China in the Ship *Hastings* and a cargo of Cotton in another Vessel.

Such an operation interfered with the flow of silver into the treasury for the Company's bills, so did the reduction in the importation of Bengal opium, so did the falling off in the shipments of cotton from India; and the result was the small issue of bills shown on p. 347.

Lintin was now a regular place of rendezvous for the shipping, more especially during the winter months, when the open anchorage gave shelter from the prevailing north-east monsoon. The ships of war, when not at Chuenpi, were at Lintin; and the merchant ships called in there to clean up all contraband matters.

A Demand has been made by the Mandarins to extort a sum of money from the Pilots which has been resisted by them and in consequence they have received an order to report to the Officer at the Bogue every information respecting the Chinese Subjects on board the Ships under their charge. They therefore request the interference of the Committee in the issue of an order to discharge all their Chinese Sailors at Lintin as should any Chinese be discovered in the River on board the Indiamen

[1] Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, i, pp. 209, 210.

unreported, they would be seriously implicated and probably severely punished.

The Committee had continued to recruit labourers and artisans and ship them to St. Helena. On February 14, 1820, it was recorded that twenty labourers had been

obtained for that Island through the agency of the Company's Comprador who employed one of the Ships under Compradors to procure the men in the vicinity of Whampoa, and to convey them on board the *Bridgewater*. We learn this morning however that instead of joining the ship *without* the Bogue, as they were recommended and desired to do (like the Chinese who join our Ships on their homeward voyage), they imprudently attempted it at the 2nd Bar, where they were seized by a Mandarin Boat lying near the Ship put in confinement and together with the Ship's under Comprador who was with them threatened to be brought before the Canton Magistrates, unless the sum of 1,200 dollars was paid by the Company's Comprador. The latter aware of correct information having been obtained and of the very serious consequences which might result to him should the affair be brought regularly into the public Offices of Canton, deemed it most adviseable to hush it immediately, and after some difficulty succeeded in stopping enquiry by paying 1,000 Dls. The whole party were liberated on this sum being paid, and the affair has thus terminated. The Chinese laborers may join one of our next Ships outside the River when they sail.

Writing a month later to Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor in Council of St. Helena, the Committee sent this warning :

From the risk which such transactions in violation of the Chinese Laws entail on the tranquility and good understanding which at present subsists between the Canton Govt. and the H.C. Authorities in China, we are induced to submit to your Excellency the Expediency of discontinuing the Indent for Natives of this Country, and have the honor to enclose the translation of a proclamation issued 4 years ago on the occasion of some persons about to emigrate having been apprehended and punished.

On November 6, 1819, word was received from Macao that the United States frigate *Congress*, with 50 guns and a crew of 350 men, had arrived at Lintin from America and Rio de Janeiro. This was the first national American ship to visit China, and the Viceroy promptly addressed the Hoppo, who issued a mandate to the Hong Merchants, that as the said vessel was not a merchantman it was inexpedient to allow her to linger about and create disturbance, and they were to enjoin on the said nation's chief to hasten and order the vessel to take her departure. The

frigate paid no attention to this fulmination, but on January 6th, after a two months' stay,

The American Frigate *Congress* sailed this day from Lintin for Manilla, she has during her stay at Lintin been regularly supplied with provisions, and has observed the prohibition of the Chinese Govt. against going to Chumpee ; but threatens on her return to anchor at the latter place.

A month after her departure, three months after her arrival, the Viceroy announced the measures which must be taken to regularize her presence on the coast. By a mandate received on February 2nd, referring to the Consul's statement that the frigate had been sent on her cruise to protect American shipping from the depredations of pirates and from dangers along the Spanish coasts, he declared that

As there is now peace prevailing in the Chinese Seas and according to what the said foreigners said, that there were foreign pirates on the Spanish coasts, and therefore the Cruizer was ordered to sea and that she was driven to Lintin by stress of weather ; such Cruizers as this have in the past been restricted to the Ocean ; there was no occasion for her to come and anchor in the waters of Canton.

She was to be given hospitality and provided with provisions—but solely at Lintin, which was in the outer waters, and solely on the ground that she was in need of repairs. The permission of the Emperor had been given to the English ships only ; and if the American cruisers desired the same privileges, they must apply and allow the provincial authorities to refer to Peking for instructions.

The Viceroy was obviously highly nervous. On January 31st he applied to the Hong Merchants for information

whether the large ships, which had been reported to him as having two tiers of guns, were originally built merely as merchant Ships or whether they were Vessels of War converted into merchantmen ; that if they were the latter his Excellency wished that they might not come again to Canton after the next season, as he was afraid it might be reported to Peking that he had allowed the entrance of Ships of War into the River.

The Viceroy was reassured, and was informed that the painting on the sides of the Indiamen was only what a hundred years later would have been called camouflage, to deceive pirates or enemy ships into believing that they were ships of war.

In their instructions of April 13, 1819, the Court of Directors having ordered the Committee to devote themselves to

the reduction of the Presents [the 1,950 taels] which now form the heaviest portion of the Port Charges on the small ships, we have directed our enquiries to this subject. The Americans whose vessels are frequently of the very smallest description have been totally unable to obtain the smallest diminution and the Country Ships have ever submitted to this impost. We are now unwilling therefore in our present state of tranquility and good understanding with the Officers of Government to agitate any question in which we have not the slightest prospect of success.

One episode which might have disturbed that good understanding was settled by the usual money payment. On July 31st, the factory being then at Macao,

whilst some Gentlemen of the Factory were walking on an Island in the neighbourhood of Macao the usual resort of the Portuguese, the Lascars belonging the H.C. Schooner who were on shore filling water were wantonly attacked by some Chinese who landed from a Boat lying at the same place. The master observing that his men were completely overpowered by their assailants armed with pikes and other Chinese weapons, immediately went on shore accompanied by a Lascar and both provided with muskets to put an end to the affray. The master having received two contusions in the head and breach fired his musket over the heads of the assailants with a view of alarming them, but the Lascar mistaking his intention, without orders discharged his piece the contents of which lodged in the shoulder of a Chinese.

This ended the affray. The wounded man was taken to Mr. Pearson, the surgeon, where his wound was found to be not serious; but, to prevent future trouble, a sum of money was paid to his family to forestall an appeal to the authorities.

On August 17th the Governor of Macao wrote asking for the assistance of the Committee in obtaining the surrender of one Mattheos Jorge de Carvalho, a delinquent who had fled to the country ship *Charlotte*. The Committee knew of this man as a morador, a citizen of Macao of good position who had fallen on evil days, and somewhat of a bad character; but he had taken shelter under the British flag, and they were not inclined to give him up. In communicating this refusal to the Governor, they avoided the downright no, and expressed their deep regret that they were unable to oblige one of so friendly a disposition as the Governor. At an interview the Governor informed the President that Senhor de Carvalho was wanted to answer to three crimes: that as an officer of the militia he was a deserter; that in support

of charges made by him against Senhor Arriaga he had committed forgery ; and that he was accused of heresy by the bishop. This strengthened the Committee in their decision, but on August 18th, having voluntarily left the shelter of the *Charlotte*, he was arrested on an island near Macao.

We cannot but regret his capture as the charge of Heresy is likely to become a pretext for the most severe persecution, since the motive of his flight is discovered to be to lay before the Government of Goa most serious charges against Mr. Arriaga as Judge and Custom Master of Macao.

There is naturally no further reference to the fate of the heretic.

The Committee were constantly on the look-out to detect infractions of the Company's monopoly, whether by unauthorized residence in China, or by the illicit importation of English goods, although they had little power to prevent either. Of the latter form there are two instances, both under date of January 8, 1820.

It having come to our knowledge that a quantity of Camlets have been landed in China from the ship [*Warren Hastings*] under your command in direct violation of the 161st Para of your printed instructions, we have to inform you that this circumstance will be represented by us to the H'ble Court of Directors for their consideration.

. . . . . .

We have ascertained that a quantity of Scarlet Long Ells of English Manufacture have been imported in the American Ship *William Savary* lately arrived from Liverpool to the amount of 600 pieces of the former and 1,500 of the latter [*sic*].

The records contain yet another instance of the liberality with which the commanders and officers of the Company's ships were treated. An estimate is given of the space available for cotton on three ships from Bombay to Canton, the *Waterloo* of 1,382 tons builder's measurement, the *Atlas* of 1,382 tons, and the *Streatham* of 850 tons, a total of . . . . tons 3,614

	Waterloo. Tons.	*Atlas.* Tons.	*Streatham.* Tons.	*Total.* Tons.
Kentledge	150	150	102½	402½
Dead weight . . .	100	100	100	300
Privilege of Commanders and Officers . . .	97	97	58½	252½
				955
			Remainder . .	2,659
⅜ths to be laden by the Company			. 1,595·4 = 8,774 Bales	
⅜ths allowed to the Commanders			. 1,063·6 = 5,849 ,,	

These 1,063½ tons might be rented (and were invariably) by the commanders, and filled with the 5,849 bales of cotton, which they bought on credit from the Company, giving their bond to pay cost and freight into the Company's treasury at Canton after selling the cotton. Their privilege of 252½ tons might be treated in the same way without payment of freight.

A chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Harding, arrived for the factory; salary at the rate of £800 a year was paid to him from April 20, 1819. The wages paid to the band amounted to 2,015 dollars a year.

On January 26, 1819, Major Farquhar and a detachment of troops, joined the next day by Sir Thomas [Stamford] Raffles, then Governor of Prince of Wales Island (Penang), proceeded in the cruisers *Investigator* and *Discovery* from Malacca to establish a settlement in the Straits. They first examined the Carimon Islands, but finding them unsuitable, they then, on the suggestion of Captain Ross, went to Singapoora Island. There they found a good anchorage with mud holding ground, and there they established the settlement.

ESTIMATED IMPORTS AT CANTON, SEASON 1819

VALUE IN DOLLARS, NOT INCLUDING PRIVATE TRADE FROM ENGLAND.

Goods.	*British.*			*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*			
Woollens	2,296,685	..	2,296,685	237,030	..	..
Metals	115,330	..	115,330	375,012	..	..
Furs	..	..	..	232,000	..	..
Other Western products	..	..	..	8,060	..	..
Western products	2,412,015	..	2,412,015	852,102	..	3,264,117
Cotton	1,643,143	2,361,583	4,004,726	359,044	..	..
Opium, Bengal [1]	..	1,171,800	1,171,800	..	..	..
,, Malwa [2]	..	360,000	360,000	..	..	..
,, Turkish [3]	..	..	..	100,000	..	..
Sandalwood	80,280	59,337	139,617	101,228	..	..
Tin, Banka	..	42,265	42,265	141,750	..	..
Pepper	76,657	17,340	93,997	39,352	..	..
Other Eastern produce	..	395,389	395,389	268,484	200,000	..
Eastern produce	1,800,080	4,407,714	6,207,794	1,009,858	200,000	7,417,652
Total Goods	4,212,095	4,407,714	8,619,809	1,861,960	200,000	10,681,769
Silver	..	..	..	6,297,000	?	6,297,000
Imports at Whampoa	4,212,095	4,407,714	8,619,809	8,158,960	200,000	16,978,769
Trade at Macao:						
Opium, Bengal [4]	..	..	..	..	1,852,200	..
,, Malwa [5]	..	..	..	..	1,080,000	..
Cotton, Indian	..	..	..	..	266,875	..
					3,199,075	3,199,075
Total Imports into Area	4,212,095	4,407,714	8,619,809	8,158,960	3,399,075	20,177,844

[1] 930 chests. [2] 300 chests. [3] 100 chests. [4] 1,470 chests. [5] 900 chests.

ESTIMATED EXPORTS AT CANTON, SEASON 1819

VALUE IN DOLLARS, NOT INCLUDING PRIVATE TRADE TO ENGLAND

Goods.	*British.*			*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*			
Ships : Number	24	17	41	39	..	80
Tonnage	26,679	13,000	39,679	13,641	..	53,320
Exports :						
Tea	7,385,400	185,610	7,571,010	3,041,942	..	..
Raw Silk	406,400	1,066,124	1,472,524	228,150	..	..
Silk Piece Goods	..	350,609	350,609	3,000,420	..	..
Nankeens	163,000	206,426	369,426	1,334,060	..	..
Tutenague [1]	..	329,924	329,924	..	..	..
Other Commodities	81,620	1,532,529	1,614,149	577,443	..	..
Exports	8,036,420	3,671,222	11,707,642	8,182,015	..	19,889,657
Silver	..	861,470	861,470	..	1,600,000	2,461,470
	8,036,420	4,532,692	12,569,112	8,182,015	1,600,000	22,351,127
Disbursements :						
Port Dues	140,000					
Factory Expenses	96,650	126,000	578,650	287,000	..	..
Ship Expenses	216,000					
Survey of China Sea	60,000	..	60,000	..	..	..
	512,650	126,000	638,650	287,000	..	925,650
Cost of Investment	8,549,070	4,658,692	13,207,762	8,469,015	1,600,000	23,276,777

[1] 23,566 piculs.

DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN EXPORTS, SEASON 1819

		To U.S.	*To Europe.*	*To S. America.*
Tea	Piculs	51,502	24,887	60
Raw Silk	,,	191	316	..
Silk Piece Goods	Dollars	2,836,230	5,270	158,920
Nankeens	Pieces	1,841,000	958,000	133,000
Sundries	Dollars	422,210	114,796	40,438
Total dollars		6,172,991	1,746,194	262,830

The value of the American trade as given in the *Chinese Repository* and in the American Customs returns was as follows :

		Chinese Repository. Dollars.	*American Customs.* Dollars.
Imports :	Opium	259,291	..
	Other Merchandise	2,815,450	2,397,795
	Treasure	5,125,000	2,995,000
		8,199,741	5,392,795
Exports :	Goods	7,058,741	
	Disbursements	315,000	
		7,373,741	

LXXVII

A YEAR OF TRANQUILLITY, 1820

THE season 1820 opened with the Select Committee consisting of Mr. J. B. Urmston (President), Sir W. Fraser, and Mr. W. Bosanquet. Mr. James Molony returned on September 4th and resumed his place on the Committee as its third member. Mr. Bosanquet went to Macao in December for his health, and in March was compelled to go to England. The books were opened on March 25th with the following balances:

		Tls.
Cr. by	Silver in treasury, 27,367 dollars	19,704
	Factory account	12,420
	Loan on factories	69,602
	Buildings and dead stock	156,870
	Anchors and medicines	1,711
	Long Ells unsold, 60,328 pieces	524,325
	Shawl goods	4,041
	Tea in stock, 3,916 piculs	66,918
	Account of Ponqua and Gnewqua	83,362
	Estate of T. Beale	149,067
	Chinese merchants (Conseequa, Exchin, and Fatqua)	281,272
		1,369,292
		Tls.
Dr. to	Puiqua	531,378
	Mowqua	74,698
	Puankhequa	24,528
	Chunqua	136,484
	Manhop, Poonequa, Gowqua, and Kinqua	155,730 922,818
	Credit Balance	446,474

The Company loaded for London during the season 23 ships of about 26,100 tons, chartered, or about 30,600 tons builder's measurement, of which 7 were from London with woollens, 4 from Madras with cotton and sandalwood, 6 from Bengal with cotton, 1 from Benkulen with pepper, and 5 from Bombay with no cargo for the Company, the Bombay cotton crop having failed. The import cargoes on Company's account realized as follows:

THE CANTON FACTORIES, *c.* 1820

	Prime cost. *f.o.b.*		*c.i.f.*	*Realized.* Tls.	Tls.
Woollens	£714,081		£791,488	2,261,969	
Cottons	£4,925		£5,328	16,000	2,381,234
Iron	£7,891		£9,611	34,585	
Lead	£18,963		£21,878	68,680	
Cotton	..	Sikka Rupees 2,468,092		1,008,589	
		Madras ,, 417,802			
Sandalwood	..	,, ,,	325,693	128,389	1,202,520
Pepper	..	Sp. Dollars	84,000	65,542	
			Total		3,583,754

The treasury was supplied during the season as follows:

			Dollars.
Credit balance of assets as above	Tls.	446,474 =	620,103
Imports realized as above	,,	3,583,754 =	4,977,436
Bullion imported: from India	Dollars	1,212,800	
from England	,,	1,541,285	
			2,754,085
Silver for bills on Bengal @ 100 Doll. = 204 Sa. Rup.			1,773,936
,, Certificates			515,608
Dividend, Ponqua and Gnewqua	Tls.	57,514	79,881
Estate of Thomas Beale			27,773
Interest on loan to commander *Lady Melville* repaid			28,302
			10,777,124

Equivalent to Tls. 7,759,529.

Transfers in the treasury for 230,000 dollars were granted to Hong Merchants. The investment for London was invoiced at Tls. 6,038,679, and for St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope at about Tls. 80,000. Factory expenses amounted to Tls. 76,005.

The particulars of trade during the season were as follows:

	Ships. No.	Tons.	*Cotton.* Piculs.	*Tea.* Piculs.	*Raw Silk.* Piculs.	*Woven Silks.* Piculs.	*Nankeens.* Pieces.
English Company	23	abt. 30,600	84,627	214,095	832	..	202,000
English Private *	27	abt. 21,600	97,785	20,388	2,793	2,366	268,000
American †	25	8,470	120	40,153	..	1,600	440,000
	75	60,670	182,532	274,636	3,625	3,966	910,000

* Trade particulars of 18 ships only. † Trade particulars of 20 ships only.

In the Private Trade is not included the private trade of commanders and officers of Company's ships except 16,004 piculs of tea. The commanders of country ships declared to the Committee imports of 327 chests of opium at Whampoa.

Of the American ships 20 have particulars of their trade recorded: 14 are reported to have brought 2,023,000 dollars in specie; and of the remaining 6 which brought no specie, 4 brought only furs and sandalwood. Five, which brought dollars, also brought 3,513 piculs of quicksilver; 7 brought broadcloth, but whence obtained is not recorded.

One Danish ship of about 800 tons had arrived before October 11th, but no particulars regarding her are recorded.

On December 31st the tenth and final instalment of the amount assessed as due by Ponqua and Gnewqua was paid from the Consoo fund, the Hong Merchants being charged with sums making a total of Tls. 111,029.

These sums will be placed to the debit of the several Merchants in the same manner as the former 9 instalments, and that portion which is due to the private Creditors, namely Tales 53,515, will be paid from our Treasury in cash.

This leaves Tls. 57,514 credited to the Company, which with Tls. 25,848 erroneously debited to Ponqua in the season 1811, liquidates the balance of Tls. 83,362 shown at the beginning of this chapter. This removed the last excuse for levying the Consoo charges, but in fact the liquidation of debts to foreigners now absorbed but a small part of the sums collected, the greater part going in the corvée services previously enumerated;[1] and the cash necessary for paying these was now regularly provided by the Committee. In June, 1820, on receipt of the specie from Calcutta, they had at once disbursed over a million dollars. In addition to repaying to Puiqua his loans of the previous February with interest, making a total of 415,715 dollars, they paid out to six of the junior merchants the following sums:

	Winter Teas.	*Import Duties.*	*Kuun Suy.*	*Kong Kay.*	*Ginseng.*	*Total.*
	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.
Exchin . . .	65,442	24,010	4,000	2,900	7,900	104,252
Manhop . . .	54,228	25,794	3,200	2,600	7,500	93,322
Goqua . . .	59,302	24,710	4,100	2,200	7,500	97,812
Poonequa . .	63,201	23,422	4,000	2,000	7,500	100,123
Fatqua . . .	53,601	25,138	250	2,500	7,500	88,989
Kinqua . . .	32,264	..	..	..	..	32,264
	328,038	123,074	15,550	12,200	37,900	516,762
			Dollars . .		. .	717,725

[1] Cf. *antea*, p. 309.

In addition to thus helping all the junior merchants, the Committee gave special aid, by throwing business into their hands, to the three Hongs which had placed their foreign business under the control of trustees. In March, 1821, they redeemed through the Company's treasury debt to the following amounts:

	Debt to Europeans.	*Debt to Puiqua.*	*Total Debt.*	*Repayments.* *To Europeans.*	*To Puiqua.*	*Total.*
	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.
Exchin .	228,014	93,711	321,725	39,000	15,711	54,711
Manhop .	531,117	67,017	598,134	50,000	7,017	57,017
Poonequa	114,325	96,030	210,355	41,000	34,030	75,030
	873,456	256,758	1,130,214	130,000	56,758	186,758

Of the senior merchants, Puankhequa died during the year. His eldest son Shinqua declared his unwillingness to carry on the firm, asserting that 'his rank was too high to permit him to engage in business'. As some at least of the merchants, including his father, had purchased buttons of the second rank,[1] and as it is not probable that any buttons of the first rank were ever purchased, this assertion only meant that he bought from the Hoppo the privilege of retirement. He persisted in his intention notwithstanding all the efforts of the Committee to induce him to modify it; and the goodwill of the firm was transferred to a nephew of Puankhequa, one Tinqua.

The contracts for the coming season, that of 1821, were made on March 20, 1821, as follows:

	Congo.	*Twankay.*	*Bohea.*	*Raw Silk.*	*Nankeens.*
	Chests.	Chests.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
Puiqua .	36,000	8,000	..	400	40,000
Mowqua .	30,000	7,000	..	..	20,000
Chunqua	30,000	7,000	..	..	..
Conseequa	19,000	6,000	2,000	..	90,000
Exchin .	13,000	3,500	..	..	..
Manhop .	13,000	3,500	..	..	..
Poonequa	13,220	3,500	5,000	..	..
Goqua .	13,000	3,500	3,000	..	..
Kinqua .	13,000	3,500	..	..	..
Fatqua .	13,000	3,500	..	..	..
Tinqua .	11,000	..	..	..	..
On acct. Tien Hing .	1,200	1,000	..	..	..
	205,420	50,000	10,000	400	150,000

[1] As evidenced by the portrait of Howqua (vol. iv, p. 1) and by the

Of the Congo 41,000 chests were given to the seniors for the benefit of the junior merchants. These junior merchants, even after the large sums paid to them on June 8, 1820, were soon again in difficulties. On July 11th the Committee wrote from Macao to Fatqua upbraiding him with his failure to pay the proceeds of the sale of 5,000 pieces of Long Ells which he had undertaken as the Committee's broker; on the same day they protested to Conseequa against his failure to repay a loan of 100,000 dollars then due; on the 27th they complained to Poonequa of his failure to pay the proceeds of 5,000 pieces of Long Ells; but by September 15th these obligations had been liquidated.

On September 16th a deputation of ships' compradors waited on the President to prefer the same complaints as were made a year earlier.

> They stated these difficulties to have been occasioned solely by the extortion and rapacity of the Mandarins at the Hoppo Office, who insisted upon levying a heavy contribution upon them in the shape of Fees, which in time of war, when the Ships lay for a considerable period at Whampoa, they could but ill afford; but which at the present moment of peace, when the ships were here a much shorter period, they were totally unable to pay.

In order to enforce payment, boats had been prevented from taking fresh provisions to the Company's ships. The Committee wrote to the Hong Merchants, disclaiming any intention of intervention in regard to the fees, but clearly intimating that, if the ships did not obtain fresh provisions, they would be under the necessity of stopping the discharge of the import cargoes. An order was obtained from the Hoppo on September 24th, but on October 1st it is recorded that

> the Honble Company's Ships do not receive their provisions from that class of men [compradors] but from the Linguists, who tho' authorized by the Hoppo, are unequal from their inexperience to conduct this important and necessary Duty.

The commanders all began to complain, and the Committee summoned a conference of the Hong Merchants. It was elicited that, as the result of the complaints of the previous year, fees to

painting of the *Neptune* trial in 1807, now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. Cf. Appendix R and p. 52.

the amount of about 400 dollars for each ship had been given up, from a total in which were included a fee of 29 dollars a month to the Viceroy's, and 28 dollars a month to the Hoppo's guard-boat in attendance on the ship; but the Viceroy's officer was not a party to the settlement and continued to collect his fee; whereupon the Hoppo's officer resumed the collection of his fee, thereby reducing the value of the concession from 400 to 340 dollars. The Committee offered to recommend to the commanders to convert taels into dollars at 72 instead of the conventional 75; and on their part the compradors accepted a reduction of 340 dollars for each ship, with an additional 200 for the first to arrive, provided that the Hoppo would signify his assent in a regular manner.

Among the ships deprived of supplies was the U.S.S. *Congress*, which, on March 26, 1820, arrived at Lintin from Manila; she sailed again April 16th, and returned to Lintin on September 7th. On October 1st, after noting that a comprador had been detailed for H.M.S. *Liverpool*, and that fresh provisions were supplied to her, it was recorded that

> the American Frigate *Congress* at Lintin has been refused all supplies whatever, until a reference to Pekin has been made respecting her. Captain Henley has in consequence been compelled to procure Salt provisions from the American Ships at Whampoa, but he will experience great difficulty in getting them to his Ship, from the impossibility of his boats coming up the River to receive them, without encountering opposition from the Mandarin War Boats stationed off Chuenpee and at the Bocca Tigris.

Only after a long struggle had British ships of war attained a state of toleration, but even they were now excluded from Chuenpi, or when there were denied all privileges.

> Two years since [season 1818] on the occasion of His Majesty's Sloop *Bacchus* proceeding to Chuenpee anchorage, very offensive Edicts were issued by the Canton Government, requiring her immediate departure from that place, and these Edicts were followed up by a decided refusal to grant any Supplies whatever, unless she removed to Lintin, or Macao Roads; and severe punishment was at the same time threatened to any Chinese who should be detected in affording His Majesty's Sloop assistance of whatever description.

The *Bacchus* could then only obtain fresh provisions through the clandestine aid of the masters of country ships, who transhipped

supplies as they passed Chuenpi outward bound. In the current season, 1820, the same inhospitality was shown to H.M.S. *Liverpool*, Captain Francis Augustus Collier. Anchorage at Chuenpi had been tolerated only during time of war, but had never been expressly sanctioned; and it is probable that the authorities became at once more timid and more punctilious because of the notoriety attending the operations of H.M.S. *Doris* in 1814. In order to keep the question open, however,

> the American Frigate *Congress* went to Chuenpee and remained there about ten days and finally quitted China on the 19th November. . . . Captain Collier of H.M.S. *Liverpool*, previously to his sailing from China, on the 2nd January, proceeded with H.M. Frigate to Chuenpee and remained there about ten days, unmolested by the Chinese.

The intervening period since her arrival on September 8th the *Liverpool* had spent at the Taipa anchorage and Macao Road.

Ships of war were informed that Lintin was an anchorage in which they could remain; Indiamen had for some years waited there through the long interval necessary to obtain a pilot from the Chinese officials at Macao; and the way was paved for the establishment at Lintin of a depot composed of the opium-receiving ships which became so notorious. A year yet was to elapse before the Viceroy should drive the traffic to Lintin; but a first step was taken in the issue, in April, 1820, of a proclamation denouncing the laxness with which the trade was supervised and directing greater care in searching ships at Macao and at Whampoa; followed in the next July by a mandate to the Hong Merchants ordering them to inform the chiefs of all nations, and throwing on them the responsibility for infractions of the law.

In the records in a letter from Conseequa to the Committee, we find note of a trade custom which is possibly the foundation of the Shanghai Convention, by which 98 taels on the scale settle an account of 100 taels.

> The whole amount [of Long Ells sold through Conseequa as broker] is 38,328 pieces. The price is to be 900 Tls. per 100 pieces, 98 Tls. being considered a hundred, according to the usage of the Shopmen. In each 100 Tls. shall be 20 Tls. broken Silver; if whole Dollars be required, a Discount shall be made according to the rate of the Market.

Unchopped dollars were not ordinarily obtainable, but when they were, they commanded a premium of 4 per mille.

The commander of the ship *Lady Campbell* having applied for permission to ship tea in small boxes, not exceeding 30 catties, to the extent of his 30 tons additional privilege, it was granted, the allotment being as follows:

	Tons.		Tons.
Commander . .	18	Third Mate . .	2
Chief Mate . .	4	Fourth ,, . .	1
Second ,, . .	3	Surgeon . . .	2

One of the mates had to appeal to the Committee before he could obtain the release of his share from the grip of the commander.

Early in the season, but after the arrival of most of the country ships, during the month of October,

the President took occasion to notice to the Board the great influx of British Subjects, Europeans as well as Natives of India, that of late years resorted to China, by the Country Ships from India, for the purpose of prosecuting their mercantile pursuits, many of whom resided in China, beyond the limited period prescribed by the Hon'ble Court, in defiance of our repeated Notifications, and the Indentures entered into by the Captains or Owners of Ships bringing them.

Among these intruders was Mr. Dent, who remained holding the power of attorney of Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Charles Magniac, who had succeeded Mr. Thomas Beale as His Prussian Majesty's Consul; and these two began the rivalry which was for half a century to dominate mercantile politics in China. Mr. Charles Magniac was supported by one brother, Mr. H. Magniac, as Vice-Consul, and another brother, Mr. Daniel Magniac, as Secretary. The Committee considered that these were covered by the foreign protection; but to all other British subjects they published a notification warning them to leave by April 2, 1821, failing which their names would be reported to the respective Presidencies in India.

April 2, 1820. A French Missionary, Père L'Amiot, has just arrived at Canton from Peking, having been sent away by the Emperor with an order that immediately on his reaching the Coast, he might be embarked for his Native Country. It appears that this Priest is very desirous of returning to the Capital, having large Funds there belonging to the Mission, and a Dispatch is to be sent to the Chinese Court, stating that no French Ships being at Canton, Mons'r L'Amiot is unable to

return to his own Country. On the Emperor's answer will depend his future movements.

The following translation of a letter from Senhor Arriaga manifests the power exercised by him over wards in Chancery, and the means by which he secured his wealth:

Sept. 28, 1820. I have received the Letter which your Select Committee addressed to me respecting the House at present occupied by your Hon'ble Company, to the Rent of which Mr. Henry Hyndman lays a fallacious claim, founded on his marriage with the Proprietor, and on this account your Hon'ble Committee has very properly applied for a Legal decision from me, to guide them, both as to the proper receiver of the Rent, and the competent authority to renew the nearly expired lease. In reply I beg to inform you that the Select Committee will legally rent the house from, and will pay the annual Rent into, the hands of Antonio José Nemene Ribello Juni, the Attorney appointed by this Court, who is empowered to grant a new Lease for such time, and on such terms, as may best suit the Hon'ble Company, and sanctioned by me, as in a former instance, and that he will continue in the character of Attorney to receive all the rents that may in future accrue, as the said Henry Hyndman being married in contravention of the Laws that govern this Colony, is incapable of possessing controul over property in it.

In this season Sir Hudson Lowe again requested that artificers and labourers be sent to St. Helena, and Captain Adamson of the *Winchelsea* engaged 26 artificers at 12 dollars and 26 labourers at 6 dollars a month.

From the difficulties attending the Emigration of the Chinese, we have judged it expedient to refrain from appearing publicly, as a party in the engagement of these artificers, and as Capt. Adamson has been able to arrange for their embarkation without our interference, we have advanced to him enough for three months advance to each man.

On June 15, 1820, a most unprovoked attack was made on members of the factory at Macao. As Mr. Davis was walking his horse home at about 7 p.m.

he was met by about six of the coolies or lowest order of persons attached to the Macao Hoppo or Custom House, who in consequence of being prevented by our influence at Canton from practicing any longer their extortions upon the baggage of those who land or embark at this place, have, it appears, determined to annoy the English by every means in their power.

After startling his horse, so that he was thrown, they proceeded to attack Mr. Davis, but, two gentlemen coming to his rescue,

he succeeded in beating off the Chinese. Incensed at their defeat, they ran to their quarters, and, accompanied by about twenty more, armed with spears and short swords, or knives, placed themselves in ambush along the whole front of the Buildings chiefly occupied by the English. Mr. Smith came along about 8 o'clock walking peaceably to the Company's House, and was attacked by the whole body rushing out at him. He was not only wounded in several parts of his body, but the Steward and the Butler of the factory, rushing out to his assistance, were also seriously injured. The Chinese then assailed the doors of the house, hacking them with their knives and shouting ' fight, fight ', and after a time dispersed.

The factory had been subjected to much annoyance and many insults at Macao. An appeal to the Portuguese authorities was, they knew, of no avail; the Chinese local authorities, whether the military Künming Fu or the civilian Tsotang, or the Tsotang's superior, the Heungshan Hien, would only add insult to injury, or at best would give no redress; and the Committee resolved to appeal direct to the Viceroy. Hearing of this, the Tsotang came forward and offered without circumlocution to punish the rowdies, on condition that the Committee would suppress their memorial. In earnest of his good faith he at once paraded two ringleaders through the streets of Macao with the cangue on their necks, and bambooed (flogged) others; and after the Committee had accepted his condition, he put out a proclamation enjoining on the Chinese rowdies to cease their molestation of the English.

On November 29th the Committee record that, ' in consequence of the frequent disturbances which take place nearly every night between European seamen and Chinese in the streets of Canton,' they have reason to suspect that there is a general disregard of their standing orders that no boat's crews are to stop overnight at Canton; and they renewed the prohibition in the most peremptory terms. Two days before that, however, an occurrence in the vicinity of Whampoa bade fair to lead to the most serious consequences. Word was at first brought that on November 27th from a foreign boat a shot had been fired which had killed a Chinese. As the result of further inquiry the boat was thought to have been traced to the Company's ship *London*.

On hearing the news on the 29th from Puiqua, who brought the Punyü Hien's warrant, the first thought of the Committee was, naturally, to hush matters up and to forestall any future complications. To the Hong Merchants, as to the Committee, the warrant gave the only information available then, and as the affair had reached the Hien's yamen, the only hope lay in so squaring the lower officials that the news should not come to the ears of their superiors. Of this the Hong Merchants gave small hope, and the only prospect seemed now to be in reporting it as a regrettable and unavoidable accident, and so ' to waive those unpleasant discussions which on former and similar occasions, have created so much trouble and embarrassment to the Company's trade '. Chunqua was asked to bring his influence to bear on the Punyü Hien ; Goqua was ' to send a confidential person to Whampoa to ascertain the rank and family of the deceased, and to effect such bribes to his relations as might either quell their clamours altogether, or induce them to attest it was mere accident ' ; the boatmen of the Viceroy's guard-boat were to be properly bribed ; and the attendants on the Kwangchow Fu and the Punyü Hien to be induced to divert attention from the *London*. The Committee ordered an investigation to be made by three senior commanders, who reported that it was probable that the incriminated boat was one from the *London*, under the charge of the fifth mate, Mr. Pigott, which on the evening of that day was sent off to get water for the ship.

William Grant Seaman, one of the Boat's crew, stated that the cutter went up the River a considerable distance, and while waiting for the tide to ebb, another Ship's boat came up, and the two officers in charge had some conversation ; that he does not know what Ship the other boat belonged to ; that there was one musket in the *London's* boat with only one Blank cartridge ; that no musket was discharged until near the Shipping on their Return, when Mr. Pigott fired the musket off into the air. . . . The above being the whole of what could be collected, and as Mr. Pigott 5th mate had absconded at 8 a.m. on the morning of the 1st instant [December], they closed their inquiries.

As all his effects were left behind and he had vanished without a word, the Committee assumed that, voluntarily or involuntarily, he had fallen overboard ; but, to make assurance the more sure, they ordered the senior captain to search all the

British ships then in port. This search was carried out on December 3rd; and on the 4th it was recorded that

the Second Officer of the *London* waited upon the President at a very late hour last night to report that he had arrived express from Whampoa in consequence of the Butcher of the *Duke of York* having cut his Throat, shortly after the Officers in search of Mr. Pigott had been on board that ship. The cause was undoubtedly insanity, but the occurrence might with great plausibility be made use of by us in adjusting the serious difficulties that threaten us. The temptation was strong, but Mr. Urmston felt that we must be cautious (even if our Principles sanctioned the measure) how we expose a deception of this kind to detection.

The Merchants were, however, pressing for a written statement for the information of the Viceroy, and the Committee wrote expressing their regret that they could not yet send a detailed statement,

but in the mean time we feel it our duty to inform them of the very singular and striking circumstance of a Man on board the *Duke of York* having committed suicide soon after the enquiry was made on board that Ship.

The suggestion of a connexion between the two occurrences was made in the following terms:

We hasten to inform you that . . . a despatch arrived from Whampoa informing us that yesterday, when an officer went on board the *Duke of York* to enquire about the affair [of November 27th], a man on board on hearing the circumstance, immediately cut his Throat, fell down and expired. Now a man without any other cause on hearing that an Investigation was to be made into the affair [of November 27th], suddenly cutting his Throat, really looks very suspicious, and as if he committed the cruel act. The man's name who committed suicide, Barrowcliff; age, 30; station, Butcher.

The Hong Merchants welcomed this suggestion with enthusiam and came at once in a body to the factory.

Puiqua informed us he thought the Affair would now be brought to a favorable issue by making use of the singular coincidence of this Suicide; he stated however that the Mandarines might not be satisfied with the bare statement of this extraordinary circumstance, and that they might require from us an assurance that the Butcher was the identical person who fired the Gun.

This the Committee declined to give, as they had already

indicated Mr. Pigott, who had disappeared, as the probable offender; but

we urged the Merchants to lose no time in making known our communication of the Butcher's Suicide to the Mandarines, who under all the circumstances of the case, might gladly avail themselves of that event to justify themselves and settle the business.

On that same day, December 4th, the Hoppo sent a mandate to the Hong Merchants requiring them to inform the Chief peremptorily that

he must immediately deliver the foreign Murderer, if not, then not Cameron's Ship only, but every English Ship shall have her Port Clearance stopped.

Apart from any question of the inducements offered by the merchants, there is no doubt that the authorities welcomed the solution suggested for settling the case:

The Merchants assured us privately that the Viceroy was very glad to avail himself of the man's suicide to settle the Affair, but in order to justify himself in the eyes of his Government and the public, it was necessary certain forms should be gone into.

As a first measure of eye-wash, the Kwangchow Fu, Kwangsien Ting, and Punyü Hien proceeded to Whampoa, viewed Barrowcliff's body, and held an inquest. The next step was to induce the Committee to declare that, in their opinion, he had committed suicide because he was the culprit. This they avoided; but

Captain Cameron will also be present [at the inquest] and when his boat's crew are called upon to be examined before the Mandarins, on the occurrences of the 27th ultimo, they will be instructed to give such evidence as will not throw any discredit upon the facts intended to be substantiated by the Government.

The witnesses were carefully instructed so that they testified to the truth and nothing but the truth, but not necessarily the whole truth.

However much we may deprecate the deception resorted to on this occasion as immoral, we conceive we were justified, knowing as we did that the Chinese Government would gladly countenance it, in assenting to a subterfuge which has thus satisfied the Chinese Forms of Justice, and relieved the Hon'ble Company's interests at this port from the most serious difficulties and embarrassments.

Beyond this attitude the Committee would not go, but they

authorized the commander of the *Duke of York* to sign a non-committal declaration.

The Merchants now proposed that Captain Campbell should sign a paper declaring that Barrowcliff, a seaman on board his ship, actually committed violence on himself, at a critical period, on the 3rd instant, this requisition being nothing more than an attestation of the real truth, we consented to submit it to Captain Campbell for signature, and he signed it accordingly.

The authorities were now completely satisfied that all the requirements of justice had been met, and on December 9th

Exchin the Security Merchant of the Hon'ble Company's Ship *London* waited upon the President late in the evening, and acquainted him that the suspension of commercial intercourse with that Ship and the *Duke of York* was now removed and that everything relating to the late affair was now closed.

The case was settled on the express ground that the culprit had committed suicide, and so had atoned for his crime.

The Chief of the English Residents having repaired to the Ship and instituted an enquiry, which induced in the foreigner a dread of the crime he had committed, so that he killed himself, still showed a reverence for the Laws.

This result was not accomplished without expense. Exchin, the Security Merchant of the *London*, spent 5,000 dollars, which the Committee advanced to him ; Chunqua, Security for the *Duke of York*, was one of the senior merchants, who did not require to have advances made to him, and the amount of his expenses is consequently not recorded. The costs of the linguist of the *London* while in the custody of the Punyü Hien amounted to 730 dollars, and of the linguist of the *Duke of York* to 227 dollars, which sums were repaid by the Committee. The next day after the settlement Puiqua was insistent in urging the Committee to dispatch the two ships without delay, so as not to give time for new charges to be brought. In fact the Committee had a narrow escape, for, before the departure of the two ships,

a Military Graduate recently returned from Pekin, on hearing of the proceedings in the late case of homicide, conspired with three or four other men to revise the proceedings, on the ground that the man who committed suicide was not the murderer. To effect this they sought out the aged father of the deceased Chinese, and instructed him to

write out a declaration that he was not satisfied with the late proceedings. Whilst engaged in preparing this document, the Whampoa Magistrate, the Pwan Yu Hien, suddenly came upon the party and seized them. He obtained from the old man an affirmation that he had been excited to write the Statement in question, and taught how to word it, and upon a report being made to the Foo Yuen he ordered that the parties implicated should be prosecuted with rigour as exciters to litigation.

Another possibility of danger existed in the resuscitation of Mr. Pigott. He was found to have taken refuge on H.M.S. *Liverpool* at Lintin, and the Committee arranged that he should be transhipped, either there or in Macao Road, to an outward-bound ship, but bad weather prevented. He was, however, got away by a later ship.

On February 15th Captain Adamson of the Company's ship *Winchelsea* was in his privately rented factory, when he was visited by a number of Chinese who wished to have him pay a bill due from one of his officers. He explained patiently and quietly that the bill was not his affair, but he undertook to use his influence in their favour and asked them to come back the next day. Thereupon, without provocation, they began to abuse him with words, and proceeded to assault him, one of them cutting his head open ' in a dreadful manner '. The senior merchant, Puiqua, and the Security Merchant, Goqua, reported the matter to the Hien, with the result that many of the participants were arrested the next day and ' were severely chastized ', which probably means that they were bambooed with the heavy bamboo on the thigh.

Writing on March 23, 1821, the Committee ' have the satisfaction to remark that affairs in this quarter remain in undisturbed tranquillity '. If this was so, it was the lull before the storm.

THE IMPORT TRADE OF CANTON, SEASON 1820

VALUE IN DOLLARS

Goods.	*British.*			*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*			
Woollens	3,141,278	..	3,141,278	..	..	..
Metals	143,380	123,545	266,925	..	..	..
Furs	..	3,900	3,900	..	..	..
Other Western Products	..	..	..	..	..	..
Western Products	3,284,658	127,445	3,412,103	..	..	..
Cotton	1,341,150	1,898,781	3,239,931	..	..	..
Opium *	..	6,486,000	6,486,000	..	..	..
Sandalwood	139,430	57,239	196,669	..	..	..
Tin, Banka	..	83,240	83,240	..	..	..
Pepper	91,030	395,637	486,667	..	..	..
Other Eastern Produce	..	1,079,376	1,079,376	..	..	..
Eastern Produce	1,571,610	10,000,273	11,571,883	..	..	..
Total Goods	4,856,268	10,127,718	14,983,986	1,465,500	..	16,449,486
Silver	2,754,084	..	2,754,084	2,569,500	..	5,323,584
Imports, Whampoa	7,610,352	10,127,718	17,738,070	4,035,000	..	21,773,070
Trade at Macao :						
Opium	included above		..	..	4,000,000 †	4,000,000
Total Imports into Area	7,610,352	10,127,718	17,738,070	4,035,000	4,000,000	25,773,070

* Bengal Opium at Whampoa . . 894 chests
" " Macao . . . 1,221 "
Malwa " " . . . 1,222 "

By British ships, total . . . 3,337 "

† Malwa in Portuguese ships . . 1,069 chests
Bengal estimated at . . . 1,500 "

THE EXPORT TRADE OF CANTON, SEASON 1820

VALUE IN DOLLARS

Goods.	*British.*			*American.*	*Other Flags.*	*Total.*
	Company.	*Private.*	*Total.*			
Ships: Number	23	21	44	26	..	..
Tonnage	26,969	13,000	39,969	8,663	..	..
Exports:						
Tea	7,838,860	918,611	8,757,471	..	..	..
Raw Silk	397,325	1,284,901	1,682,226	..	..	..
Silk Piece Goods	..	374,579	374,579	..	..	..
Nankeens	178,035	424,374	602,409	..	..	..
Tutenague *	..	363,328	363,328	..	..	..
Other Commodities	121,100	1,715,578 †	1,836,678	..	..	..
Total Goods	8,535,320	5,081,371	13,616,691	4,088,000	..	17,704,691
Silver	..	495,000	495,000	..	900,000	1,395,000
	8,535,320	5,576,371	14,111,691	4,088,000	900,000	19,099,691
Disbursements:						
Port Dues	136,043					
Factory Expenses	174,392	171,000	688,435	182,000	..	..
Ship Expenses	207,000					
	517,435	171,000	688,435	182,000	..	870,435
Cost of Investment	9,052,755	5,747,371	14,800,126	4,270,000	900,000	19,970,126

* Tutenague, 25,952 piculs.

† Including sugar, 92,733 piculs, 716,497 dollars.

APPENDIX W

A Mandate on the Opium Trade

April 13th.

Yuen the Viceroy and Ah the Hoppo of Canton, hereby issue a Proclamation to the Hong Merchants, with the contents of which, let them make themselves fully acquainted.

Opium is an article which has long been most strictly prohibited by His Imperial Majesty's command, and frequently proclamations have been issued against it, which are on record: but the inlets on the coast of Canton being very numerous, Macao being the resort of Foreigners, and Whampoa being the anchorage of foreign Ships; these places should have been more strictly watched and searched.

It is found on record that during the 20th year of Kia King, the then Viceroy *Tseang* reported to Court, and punished the abandoned Macao Merchants, Choo-mie-Kwa and others for buying and selling Opium.

The Emperor's will was then most reverently received, to this effect. When the Portuguese Ships arrive at Macao, it is incumbent to search and examine each Ship; and let the Viceroy widely publish a proclamation, stating that Opium being an article produced abroad, and from thence flowing into China, and as every Region has its usages and climate proper for itself, and differing from others, the Celestial Empire does not forbid you people to make and eat Opium, and diffuse the custom in your Native place.

But that Opium should flow into the interior of this place, where vagabonds clandestinely purchase and eat it, and continually become sunk into the most stupid and besotted State, so as to cut down the powers of nature, and destroy life, is an injury to the manners and minds of men, of the greatest magnitude, and therefore Opium is most rigorously prohibited by law. Often have Imperial Edicts been received, commanding a Search to be made, and it is absolutely impossible to suffer your people to bring it in a smuggling manner, and disperse it by Sale.

Hereafter when your Ships arrive at Macao, they must all and each be searched and examined. If one Ship brings opium, whatever other cargo the said vessel may contain, will all be rejected, and all commercial transactions with her be disallowed. If every vessel brings Opium, then the whole cargo of every vessel will be rejected, and none of the Ships be permitted to trade, and the

Ships in the State they came, will be driven out, and sent back to their own Country.

As to you people who live in Macao, since you occupy the territory of the Celestial Empire, you therefore ought to obey the laws, and regulations of the Celestial Empire.

If you presume without public authority to act and frame rules for yourselves, and cherish Schemes of approaching near to grasp illicit gains; the laws are prepared to punish, and just as in the case of those who in China clandestinely promulge the (Teen-choo-Keaou) Religion of Heaven's Lord, they will assuredly Severely punish your crimes, and will not show any indulgence.

In this manner, says the Emperor, let an explicit and pointed proclamation be published to the said Foreigners, and no doubt, they will every one of them be afraid, and yield implicit obedience, and [not] dare to oppose the prohibition, nor to sell Opium.

And hereafter let a true and faithful Search be made as before, and so the Source from which the evil springs will be cut off.

Respect this.

Former proclamations were published, and stand on record, and since that time four or five years have elapsed, and it is feared that remissness may have crept in by length of time.

It is probable though not certain that when the Portuguese Ships anchor in Macao harbour, there may be avaricious vagabonds, who smuggled Opium into the Port, and therefore the Macao Wei-yuen has been ordered to search very strictly and faithfully.

With respect to Whampoa, it is the anchorage of All the Foreign Ships and although I the Viceroy appoint to each Ship, an attending Officer, and I the Hoppo, also appoint Tide-waiters, who watch the Ship on each side, and make due Search, which seems as Strict a guard as can be kept, still the Seamen are not all good men, it is impossible to be sure that they never connect themselves with Native vagabonds, and seize opportunities of smuggling.

Therefore strict orders are given to all the local military Stations, to the depicted Officer from the Custom house, and to the armed Police at Whampoa, to be very strict in Searching—And further confidential Soldiers are sent in all directions to search and seize.

Besides these precautions the Hong Merchants are required to promulge to all Foreign Factory Chiefs, resident at Macao, or Canton, our commands to them to yield implicit obedience to former Imperial Edicts, which disallow the clandestine introduction of opium, and which require the Sources from which it comes to be cut off.

If they dare to disobey this order, as soon as a discovery is made, the concerned will be expelled, and not permitted to trade, and the Security Merchant will be seized, and punished for the crime—if he dares to connive, he will most assuredly be broken, and prosecuted to the utmost, and without mercy.

Be careful, and do not view this document as mere matter of form, and so tread within the net of the law, for you find your escape as impracticable, as it is for a man to bite his own navel.

Report the manner in which you execute these orders, and at the same time present a Bond, engaging to abide by the tenor of this. Delay not.

A Special Edict.
Kia King 25th year, 2nd moon, 22nd day.
April 5th 1820.

July 21st, 1820.

The following Letter was received from the Hong Merchants, forwarding the Copy of an Edict lately issued by the Canton Government, against the importation of Opium in Foreign Ships. Letter signed by all the Hong Merchants, accompanying the Government Edict, and as usual repeating the Sum of the paper, after which it adds.

We beg you Gentlemen, to attend carefully to the Ships which come in this Season, and we earnestly intreat you to inform the Several Ships of the Government Orders that they yield a trembling obedience thereto, lest by any possible accident, we should be implicated, which would also render you Gentlemen, uneasy.

We write expressly on this account, and are with compliments,

etc. etc. etc. etc.

To the Select Committee.

6th Moon, 8th day (July 17, 1820).

July 21st.

Official Edict from Yuen the Viceroy and Ah the Hoppo.

Dated 5 moon. 26 day. July 6. 1820.

Opium is produced in Foreign places beyond Seas and from thence the poison flows into China, where it is indeed injurious to the manners and minds of men. It has long been strictly prohibited, and we the Viceroy and Hoppo have often issued severe edicts against it and are persuaded that the only way to prevent the Stream flowing is to cut off the Source.

During the Second month of the present year, we instituted an enquiry, and found that in the 20th year of Kia King, an imperial edict was received, containing the following order respecting the Merchants. Should a Single Ship bring Opium, the whole of that Ship's cargo shall be rejected, and all trading be disallowed her,

and if the Hong Merchants connive at a violation of this order, they shall be immediately broken, and prosecuted ; let this order be authoritatively communicated to all the Chief Supercargoes of the several Nations, that they may yield obedience thereto.

Since the Foreigners come from Remote parts to trade, and do not understand the language of China, they cannot entirely comprehend the laws and prohibitions of the Celestial Empire : all depends on the Hong Merchants taking every opportunity to communicate in pointed and severe terms, the orders given by Government and to make minute enquiries to find out when the Ships arrive whether they have prohibited goods or not, before they request permission for them to open their hatches.

If any Foreign Sailors smuggle anything, the Merchants ought to state the facts to Government, that the whole cargo of the Ship to which they belong, may be rejected, and the trade of the ship be disallowed. Thus there would be none of that base intercommunication and connivance which now exists. For since a Company of Merchants to conduct foreign trade is established, the responsibility falls upon them, and they cannot excuse themselves.

As to the Linguists who interpret for Foreigners, and Compradors who make purchases for them, although their Situation and responsibility be mean, their eyes and ears are nearer the foreigners than any other persons, and it is therefore more incumbent on them to be attentive and to search out and notice what is doing.

Another Imperial Edict has lately been reverently received, which prohibits Opium most strictly, and hence our exertions should be more Strenuous and a close and strict search kept up.

As now Ships come in Successively at this time, we now issue fresh orders to all the civil and Military Departments, and all the Custom Houses, to search and seize, and we hasten also to command the Hong Merchants to unite with the Linguists and Compradors, to search and find out whether the Ships which arrive bring prohibited goods with them or not, before they ask permission to break bulk. If they presume to connive at anything of the kind, the moment it is discovered, the Security Merchant alone will be held responsible, and will certainly be broken and prosecuted, as well as the Linguists and Compradors. All the Hong Merchants are men of family, and it will be well for them to show some love for themselves, and not tread in steps which will cause repentance.

A Special Edict.

Feel a cold Shiver at this.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS AT CANTON, 1805–1820.

Year.	Ship.	Tons B. M.	Units (Chinese).	Measurage. Basic. Tls.	Measurage. Presents. Tls.	Measurage. Total. Tls.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
1805	Windham	820	241·1	1,796	1,950	3,746	Puankhequa.	
,,	Ocean	1,200	333·2	2,482	1,950	4,432	Mowqua.	
,,	Earl Howe	876	235·5	1,754	1,950	3,704	Puiqua.	
,,	Exeter	1,200	314·9	2,346	1,950	4,296	Ponqua.	
,,	Henry Addington	1,200	322·3	2,401	1,950	4,351	Chunqua.	
,,	Coutts	1,200	338·0	2,518	1,950	4,468	Gnewqua.	
,,	Royal George	1,200	330·5	2,461	1,950	4,411	Conseequa.	
,,	Cumberland	1,200	324·0	2,413	1,950	4,463	Exchin.	
,,	Bombay Castle	1,200	308·2	2,295	1,950	4,245	Manhop.	
,,	Hope	1,200	360·8	2,687	1,950	4,637	Puankhequa.	
,,	Wexford	1,200	324·8	2,419	1,950	4,369	Mowqua.	
,,	Warley	1,200	367·5	2,737	1,950	4,687	Puiqua.	
,,	Ganges	1,200	367·0	2,734	1,950	4,684	Ponqua.	
,,	Warren Hastings	1,200	324·2	2,415	1,950	4,365	Chunqua.	
,,	Dorsetshire	1,200	313·6	2,336	1,950	4,286	Gnewqua.	
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	..	..	..	..	Taken up locally. Measurage chargeable to consignees of import cargo from Bombay.	
,,	Surat Castle	1,139	..	..	..	..		
1806	William Pitt	? 650	200·2	1,491	1,950	3,441	Puankhequa.	From New South Wales.
,,	Alnwick Castle	1,200	320·4	2,386	1,950	4,336	Mowqua.	
,,	David Scott	1,200	331·3	2,467	1,950	4,417	Puiqua.	
,,	Essex	1,200	329·8	2,456	1,950	4,406	Ponqua.	
,,	Winchelsea	1,200	326·2	2,429	1,950	4,379	Chunqua.	
,,	Elphinstone	1,200	322·1	2,399	1,950	4,349	Gnewqua.	
,,	Walmer Castle	1,200	355·0	2,644	1,950	4,594	Conseequa.	
,,	Ceres	1,200	343·7	2,560	1,950	4,510	Exchin.	
,,	Lady Madelina Sinclair	? 600	186·4	1,388	1,950	3,338	Manhop.	From New South Wales.
,,	Marquis of Ely	1,200	325·2	2,422	1,950	4,372	Puankhequa.	

Year.	Ship.	Tons B. M.	Units (Chinese).	Measurage. Basic.	Presents.	Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks
				Tls.	Tls.	Tls.		
1806	Neptune	1,200	353·6	2,634	1,950	4,584	Mowqua.	
,,	Cirencester	1,200	343·4	2,558	1,950	4,508	Puiqua.	
,,	Royal Charlotte	1,252	353·3	2,631	1,950	4,581	Ponqua.	
,,	Thames	1,200	346·3	2,580	1,950	4,530	Chunqua.	
,,	Glatton	1,200	355·7	2,603	1,950	4,553	Gnewqua.	
,,	Arniston	1,200	351·9	2,621	1,950	4,571	Conseequa.	
,,	Perseverance	1,200	346·5	2,582	1,950	4,532	Exchin.	
,,	Albion	950	244·8	1,823	1,950	3,773	Manhop.	
,,	Fort William	1,165	305·4	2,274	1,950	4,224	Puankhequa and Conseequa jointly.	Taken up locally to replace the *Warren Hastings* captured by French.
1807	Retreat	505	212·2	1,581	1,950	3,531	Mowqua.	
,,	Nottingham	1,152	292·9	2,182	1,950	4,132	Puiqua.	
,,	Cumberland	1,200	324·9	2,420	1,950	4,370	Ponqua.	
,,	Henry Addington	1,200	324·2	2,415	1,950	4,365	Chunqua.	
,,	True Briton	1,198	307·8	2,293	1,950	4,243	Gnewqua.	
,,	Cuffnells	1,200	341·0	2,540	1,950	4,490	Conseequa.	
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,242	309·7	2,307	1,950	4,257	Exchin.	
,,	Britannia	1,200	328·4	2,446	1,950	4,396	Manhop.	Company's own ship.
,,	Hope	1,200	360·5	2,685	1,950	4,635	Poonequa.	
,,	Coutts	1,200	341·4	2,542	1,950	449,2	Lyqua.	
,,	Taunton Castle	1,198	309·1	2,302	1,950	4,252	Mowqua.	
,,	Earl Camden	1,200	328·5	2,447	1,950	4,397	Puiqua.	
,,	Woodford	1,180	305·9	2,278	1,950	4,228	Ponqua.	
,,	Alfred	1,198	307·2	2,288	1,950	4,238	Chunqua.	
1808	Surat Castle	1,140	271·1	2,019	1,950	3,969	Gnewqua.	
,,	Warley	1,200	351·0	2,615	1,950	4,565	Mowqua.	
,,	Royal George	1,200	336·9	2,509	1,950	4,459	Puiqua.	
,,	Thomas Grenville	800	237·2	1,766	1,950	3,716	Ponqua.	Company's own ship.
,,	Essex	1,200	330·8	2,464	1,950	4,414	Chunqua.	
,,	Elphinstone	1,200	327·8	2,441	1,950	4,391	Gnewqua.	

,,	Winchelsea	1,200	331·7	2,471	1,950	4,421	Conseequa.
,,	Dorsetshire	1,200	316·8	2,360	1,950	4,310	Exchin.
,,	Ceres	1,200	343·0	2,555	1,950	4,505	Manhop.
,,	Exeter	1,200	319·5	2,379	1,950	4,329	Poonequa.
,,	Ocean	1,200	335·5	2,499	1,950	4,449	Lyqua.
,,	David Scott	1,200	333·2	2,482	1,950	4,432	Mowqua.
,,	Alnwick Castle	1,200	318·8	2,374	1,950	4,324	Puiqua.
,,	Canton	1,200	302·3	2,252	1,950	4,202	Ponqua.
,,	Walmer Castle	1,200	351·0	2,690	1,950	4,640	Chunqua.
1809	Nottingham	1,200	302·2	2,251	1,950	4,201	Puiqua.
,,	Thames	1,200	362·9	2,708	1,950	4,653	Ponqua.
,,	Cumberland	1,200	334·8	2,494	1,950	4,444	Chunqua.
,,	Perseverance	1,200	331·8	2,543	1,950	4,493	Gnewqua.
,,	Albion	961	247·1	1,840	1,950	3,790	Conseequa.
,,	Marquis of Ely	1,200	337·4	2,513	1,950	4,463	Exchin.
,,	Royal Charlotte	1,252	368·5	2,744	1,950	4,694	Manhop.
,,	Neptune	1,200	364·6	2,716	1,950	4,666	Poonequa.
,,	Glatton	1,200	362·9	2,703	1,950	4,653	Lyqua.
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	319·3	2,378	1,950	4,328	Puiqua.
,,	Coutts	1,200	353·5	2,633	1,950	4,583	Ponqua.
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	337·9	2,517	1,950	4,467	Chunqua.
,,	Cuffnells	1,200	335·3	2,497	1,950	4,447	Conseequa.
,,	Warren Hastings	1,200	277·1	2,064	1,950	4,014	Exchin. From and to Bombay.
1810	Cuffnells	1,200	343·7	2,560	1,950	4,510	Puiqua.
,,	Alfred	1,198	316·5	2,358	1,950	4,308	Chunqua.
,,	Wexford	1,200	330·4	2,461	1,950	4,411	Conseequa.
,,	Arniston	1,200	378·6	2,664	1,950	4,614	Exchin.
,,	Woodford	1,180	310·4	2,312	1,950	4,262	Manhop.
,,	Winchelsea	1,200	341·8	2,546	1,950	4,496	Poonequa.
,,	Elphinstone	1,200	352·8	2,628	1,950	4,578	Goqua (Lyqua).
,,	Cirencester	1,200	349·5	2,603	1,950	4,553	Poonequa.
,,	David Scott	1,200	342·5	2,551	1,950	4,501	Lyqua.
,,	Bombay	1,200	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Royal George	1,200	..	..	..	..	..
,,	Canton	1,200	..	..	..	..	..

Year.	Ship.	Tons B. M.	Units (Chinese).	Measurage. Basic. Tls.	Measurage. Presents. Tls.	Measurage. Total. Tls.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
1810	Alnwick Castle	1,200	..	..	..	..	..	
,,	Surat Castle	1,140	..	..	..	..	..	
,,	Canada	? 600	133·3	912	1,950	2,862		From New South Wales.
,,	Ocean	1,200	..	..	..	..		Sailed Portsmouth January 21, 1810; lost in China Seas September 5.
1811	Essex	1,200	338·1	2,518	1,950	4,468		
,,	Cumberland	1,200	338·0	2,518	1,950	4,468		
,,	Henry Addington	1,200	333·2	2,482	1,950	4,432		
,,	Lowther Castle	1,200	369·5	2,752	1,950	4,702		
,,	Marquis of Ely	1,200	324·4	2,489	1,950	4,439		
,,	Perseverance	1,200	346·5	2,581	1,950	4,531		
,,	Warren Hastings	1,200	340·0	2,533	1,950	4,483		
,,	Warley	1,200	360·9	2,688	1,950	4,638		
,,	Charles Grant	1,200	306·6	2,283	1,950	4,233		
,,	Ceres	1,200	360·1	2,682	1,950	4,632		
,,	Inglis	1,200	..	2,523	1,950	4,473		Taken up locally.
,,	Earl Balcarras	1,200	..	2,595	1,950	4,545		Measurage paid by owners.
,,	Providence	700	210·0	1,564	1,950	3,514		Puiqua. From New South Wales.
,,	Walmer Castle	1,200	374·2	2,787	1,950	4,737		Conseequa.
,,	Hope	1,200	375·2	2,795	1,950	4,745		Exchin.
,,	Taunton Castle	1,198	320·5	2,387	1,950	4,337		Manhop.
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	329·6	2,455	1,950	4,405		Poonequa.
,,	Dorsetshire	1,200	313·8	2,337	1,950	4,287		Goqua.
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	318·2	2,299	1,950	4,249		Kinqua.
1812	Lord Castlereagh	? 1,000	248·0	1,847	1,950	3,797		Kinqua.
,,	Warren Hastings	1,200	285·4	2,126	1,950	4,076		From and to Bengal.
,,	General Graham	430	165·1	1,230	1,950	3,180		From New South Wales.
,,	Admiral Gambier	501	155·4	1,157	1,950	3,107		
,,	Fort William	1,165	..	..	..	..		Chartered inwards with cotton; dues paid by owners.
,,	Coutts	1,200	344·3	2,565	1,950	4,515		Mowqua.

,,	Cabalva	1,200	336·2	2,504	1,950	4,454	Puiqua.
,,	Arniston	1,200	354·0	2,636	1,950	4,586	Conseequa.
,,	Wexford	1,200	324·0	2,413	1,950	4,363	Exchin.
,,	Bombay	1,200	318·7	2,374	1,950	4,324	Manhop.
,,	Alnwick Castle	1,200	330·2	2,460	1,950	4,410	Poonequa.
,,	Marquis of Huntly	1,200	341·7	2,545	1,950	4,495	Goqua.
,,	Glatton	1,200	357·0	2,659	1,950	4,609	Kinqua.
,,	Elphinstone	1,200	320·9	2,390	1,950	4,340	Fatqua.
,,	Royal Charlotte	1,252	368·8	2,747	1,950	4,697	Mowqua.
,,	Neptune	1,200	357·7	2,664	1,950	4,614	Puiqua.
,,	Cirencester	1,200	349·0	2,600	1,950	4,550	Conseequa.
,,	Cuffnells	1,200	354·6	2,641	1,950	4,591	Exchin.
,,	Surat Castle	1,140	284·3	2,117	1,950	4,067	Manhop.
,,	Winchelsea	1,200	342·5	2,551	1,950	4,501	Poonequa.
,,	Thames	1,200	352·1	2,622	1,950	4,572	Goqua.
,,	David Scott	1,200	339·5	2,529	1,950	4,479	Kinqua.
,,	Royal George	1,200	328·3	2,445	1,950	4,395	Fatqua.
1813	Indefatigable	? 600	171·1	1,275	1,950	3,225	
,,	Walmer Castle	1,200	359·1	2,675	1,950	4,625	Howqua.
,,	Marquis of Camden	1,200	339·8	2,531	1,950	4,481	Mowqua.
,,	Lowther Castle	1,200	360·2	2,682	1,950	4,632	Chunqua.
,,	Cumberland	1,200	325·9	2,427	1,950	4,377	Conseequa.
,,	General Harris	1,200	350·0	2,607	1,950	4,557	Exchin.
,,	Perseverance	1,200	336·0	2,503	1,950	4,453	Manhop.
,,	Hope	1,200	377·3	2,810	1,950	4,760	Poonequa.
,,	Ceres	1,200	352·5	2,625	1,950	4,575	Gowqua.
,,	Marquis of Ely	1,200	339·7	2,530	1,950	4,480	Kinqua.
,,	Charles Grant	1,200	304·6	2,269	1,950	4,219	Fatqua.
,,	Inglis	1,200	339·2	2,526	1,950	4,476	Howqua.
,,	Indian	? 600	183·1	1,364	1,950	3,314	Mowqua. From Batavia to Calcutta.
,,	Herefordshire	1,200	325·4	2,423	1,950	4,373	Kinqua.
,,	Essex	1,200	328·8	2,449	1,950	4,399	Mowqua.
,,	Atlas	1,200	332·6	2,478	1,950	4,428	Chunqua.
,,	Warley	1,200	349·4	2,602	1,950	4,552	Conseequa.
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	326·4	2,431	1,950	4,381	Exchin.

Year.	Ship.	Tons B. M.	Units (Chinese).	Measurage. Basic.	Presents.	Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Tls.	Tls.	Tls.		
1813	Bridgewater	1,200	326·9	2,435	1,950	4,385	Manhop.	
,,	Archduke Charles	? 600	180·6	1,345	1,950	3,295	Poonequa.	From New South Wales.
1814	Wexford	1,200	323·5	2,409	1,950	4,359	Puiqua.	
,,	Thomas Grenville	886	239·7	1,785	1,950	3,735	Mowqua.	
,,	Dorsetshire	1,200	320·9	2,390	1,950	4,340	Chunqua.	
,,	Elphinstone	1,200	360·2	2,683	1,950	4,633	Conseequa.	
,,	Henry Addington	1,200	333·9	2,487	1,950	4,437	Exchin.	
,,	Bombay	1,200	309·4	2,305	1,950	4,255	Manhop.	
,,	Cabalva	1,200	333·7	2,485	1,950	4,435	Poonequa.	
,,	Neptune	1,200	360·4	2,685	1,950	4,635	Goqua.	
,,	Lady Melville	1,200	333·0	2,480	1,950	4,430	Kinqua.	
,,	Marquis of Huntly	1,200	338·0	2,517	1,950	4,467	Fatqua.	
,,	Castle Huntly	1,200	328·8	2,449	1,950	4,399	Puiqua.	
,,	Surat Castle	1,140	283·7	2,113	1,950	4,063	Mowqua.	
,,	Glatton	1,200	348·5	2,596	1,950	4,546	Chunqua.	
,,	Winchelsea	1,200	333·2	2,482	1,950	4,432	Conseequa.	
,,	Royal Charlotte	1,252	369·4	2,755	1,950	4,705	Exchin.	
,,	Thames	1,200	352·0	2,622	1,950	4,572	Manhop.	
,,	Coutts	1,200	345·1	2,570	1,950	4,520	Poonequa.	
,,	Earl Spencer	..	202·9	1,511	1,950	3,461	Puiqua.	From New South Wales.
,,	Isaac Todd	..	121·1	580	1,950	2,530	Goqua.	From Columbia River.
,,	Surry	..	168·2	1,253	1,950	3,203	Kinqua.	From New South Wales.
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	328·3	2,445	1,950	4,395	Fatqua.	
,,	Cambridge	768	..	..	..	..	Taken up locally.	
1815	Marquis of Wellington	? 600	178·6	1,330	1,950	3,280		
,,	Cuffnells	1,200	336·0	2,502	1,950	4,452	Puiqua.	
,,	Royal George	1,200	328·4	2,446	1,950	4,396	Mowqua.	
,,	Warley	1,200	360·5	2,685	1,950	4,635	Puankhequa.	
,,	Walmer Castle	1,200	370·3	2,758	1,950	4,708	Chunqua.	
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	327·3	2,438	1,950	4,388	Conseequa.	
,,	Hope	1,200	347·9	2,591	1,950	4,541	Exchin.	

,,	Essex	1,200	335·8	2,501	1,950	4,451	Manhop.
,,	David Scott	1,200	330·6	2,462	1,950	4,412	Poonequa.
,,	Charles Grant	1,200	314·9	2,345	1,950	4,295	Goqua.
,,	Inglis	1,200	336·9	2,509	1,950	4,459	Kinqua.
,,	Warren Hastings	1,200	310·9	2,316	1,950	4,266	Fatqua.
,,	Marquis of Camden	1,200	343·7	2,560	1,950	4,510	Puiqua.
,,	Vansittart	1,200	332·2	2,474	1,950	4,424	Mowqua.
,,	Alnwick Castle	1,200	322·9	2,405	1,950	4,355	Puankhequa.
,,	Ceres	1,200	352·4	2,624	1,950	4,574	Chunqua.
,,	General Harris	1,200	333·7	2,486	1,950	4,436	Conseequa.
,,	Lowther Castle	1,200	366·0	2,726	1,950	4,676	Exchin.
,,	Bridgewater	1,200	334·1	2,489	1,950	4,439	Manhop.
,,	Atlas	1,200	333·4	2,483	1,950	4,433	Poonequa.
,,	Herefordshire	1,200	358·2	2,668	1,950	4,618	Goqua.
,,	General Kyd	1,200	336·4	2,505	1,950	4,455	Kinqua.
,,	Lady Flora	750	..	..	..	..	Taken up in Calcutta.
,,	Northampton	? 600	..	..	..	..	From New South Wales.
1816	Thomas Grenville	886	233·0	1,735	1,950	3,685	Howqua.
,,	Buckinghamshire	1,200	326·3	2,430	1,950	4,380	Mowqua.
,,	Cabalva	1,200	337·2	2,461	1,950	4,411	Puankhequa.
,,	Marquis of Huntly	1,200	331·7	2,470	1,950	4,420	Chunqua.
,,	Earl of Balcarras	1,200	330·0	2,458	1,950	4,408	Manhop.
,,	Lady Melville	1,200	333·2	2,482	1,950	4,432	Conseequa.
,,	Marchioness of Exeter	820	239·6	1,785	1,950	3,735	Howqua.
,,	Hugh Inglis	821	269·7	2,009	1,950	3,959	Mowqua.
,,	Windham	823	253·8	1,890	1,950	3,840	Chunqua.
,,	Castle Huntly	1,200	334·4	2,493	1,950	4,443	Goqua.
,,	Coldstream	693	215·4	1,605	1,950	3,555	Puankhequa.
,,	Cornwall	798	229·9	1,712	1,950	3,662	Exchin.
,,	Lord Lynedoch	589	205·5	1,531	1,950	3,481	Poonequa.
,,	Cumberland	1,200	334·4	2,490	1,950	4,440	Kinqua.
,,	Surat Castle	1,140	281·8	2,099	1,950	4,049	Fatqua.
,,	General Hewitt	894	238·8	1,779	1,950	3,729	Howqua. Attached to Embassy; measurage remitted.
,,	Cambridge	768	229·7	1,711	1,950	3,661	Conseequa.

Year.	Ship.	Tons B. M.	Units (Chinese).	Measurage. Basic.	Presents.	Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Tls.	Tls.	Tls.		
1816	Lady Castlereagh	821	249·4	1,858	1,950	3,808	Exchin.	
,,	Marquis of Ely	1,200	334·3	2,490	1,950	4,440	Manhop.	
,,	Regent	915	243·6	1,814	1,950	3,764	Poonequa.	
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	304·0	2,264	1,950	4,214	Goqua.	Company's own ship.
,,	Fort William	1,135	307·6	2,291	1,950	4,241	Kinqua.	
,,	Barkworth	505	182·7	1,363	1,950	3,313	Fatqua.	
,,	Providence	649	208·2	1,550	1,950	3,500	Howqua.	
,,	Sovereign	617	190·6	1,426	1,950	3,376		
,,	Wexford	1,200	331·8	2,497	1,950	4,447	Chunqua.	
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	326·7	2,434	1,950	4,384	Conseequa.	
,,	Elphinstone	1,200	..	..	..	..	Burned in port.	
,,	Aurora	573	..	..	..	..	Taken up locally.	
1817	Dorsetshire	1,200	310·8	2,364	1,950	4,314	Howqua.	
,,	Royal George	1,200	332·6	2,478	1,950	4,428	Mowqua.	
,,	Marquis of Camden	1,200	347·8	2,590	1,950	4,540	Puankhequa.	
,,	Waterloo	1,200	342·3	2,550	1,950	4,500	Chunqua.	Company's own ship.
,,	Winchelsea	1,200	335·8	2,458	1,950	4,408	Conseequa.	
,,	Bombay	1,200	323·4	2,408	1,950	4,358	Exchin.	
,,	Inglis	1,200	341·3	2,542	1,950	4,492	Manhop.	
,,	Charles Grant	1,200	315·6	2,350	1,950	4,300	Poonequa.	
,,	Herefordshire	1,200	328·0	2,443	1,950	4,393	Goqua.	
,,	Lowther Castle	1,200	364·3	2,713	1,950	4,663	Kinqua.	
,,	Vansittart	1,200	355·1	2,645	1,950	4,595	Fatqua.	
,,	Bridgewater	1,200	333·8	2,486	1,950	4,436	Howqua.	
,,	Atlas	1,200	333·5	2,484	1,950	4,434	Mowqua.	
,,	General Kyd	1,200	335·5	2,499	1,950	4,449	Puankhequa.	
,,	General Harris	1,200	336·2	2,504	1,950	4,454	Chunqua.	
1818	Orwell	1,200	340·1	2,573	1,950	4,523	Howqua.	
,,	Earl Balcarras	1,200	343·9	2,596	1,950	4,546	Mowqua.	
,,	Buckinghamshire	1,200	330·3	2,493	1,950	4,443	Puankhequa.	
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	316·8	2,362	1,950	4,312	Chunqua.	Company's own ship.

,,	Thomas Coutts	1,200	336·2	2,517	1,950	4,467	Exchin.
,,	Duke of York	1,200	336·4	2,530	1,950	4,480	Manhop.
,,	George Canning	1,200	327·4	2,509	1,950	4,459	Poonequa.
,,	Lady Melville	1,200	327·2	2,495	1,950	4,445	Goqua.
,,	London	1,200	330·7	2,522	1,950	4,472	Kinqua. Company's own ship.
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	326·8	2,460	1,950	4,410	Fatqua.
,,	Perseverance	1,200	336·3	2,526	1,950	4,476	Howqua.
,,	Regent	875	232·7	1,733	1,950	3,683	Mowqua.
,,	Castle Huntly	1,200	323·7	2,411	1,950	4,361	Puankhequa.
,,	Dunira	1,200	341·4	2,543	1,950	4,493	Chunqua.
,,	Moffatt	825	224·1	1,669	1,950	3,619	Conseequa.
,,	Cabalva	1,200	..	..	..	..	Lost July 7th on way out near Mauritius. Captain and 15 of crew perished.
1819	Apollo	652	209·4	1,560	1,950	3,510	Howqua. From London.
,,	Cornwall	798	240·5	1,768	1,950	3,718	Mowqua. ,,
,,	Lord Castlereagh	812	247·1	1,840	1,950	3,790	Puankhequa. ,,
,,	Kellie Castle	1,418	351·6	2,618	1,950	4,568	Chunqua. ,,
,,	Lowther Castle	1,454	362·6	2,706	1,950	4,656	Conseequa. From Bombay.
,,	Charles Grant	1,252	314·6	2,343	1,950	4,293	Exchin. ,,
,,	Essex	? 1,400	348·9	2,598	1,950	4,548	Manhop. ,,
,,	Matilda	774	210·8	1,570	1,950	3,520	Poonequa. From London.
,,	Vansittart	1,311	341·8	2,546	1,950	4,496	Goqua. From Bombay.
,,	Marquis of Camden	1,285	342·7	2,552	1,950	4,502	Kinqua. ,,
,,	Inglis	1,321	351·0	2,614	1,950	4,564	Fatqua. ,,
,,	Waterloo	1,403	334·3	2,564	1,950	4,514	Howqua. From Calcutta. Company's own ship.
,,	General Kyd	1,318	330·6	2,465	1,950	4,415	Mowqua. From Madras.
,,	Windsor	1,358	346·0	2,577	1,950	4,527	Puankhequa. ,,
,,	General Harris	1,373	342·0	2,547	1,950	4,497	Chunqua. From London.
,,	Warren Hastings	1,356	342·0	2,547	1,950	4,497	Conseequa. ,,
,,	Bridgewater	1,294	332·6	2,477	1,950	4,427	Exchin. From St. Helena.
,,	Atlas	1,359	329·0	2,450	1,950	4,400	Manhop. From Calcutta.
,,	Larkins	? 750	205·2	1,529	1,950	3,479	Poonequa. From St. Helena.

Year.	Ship.	Tons B. M.	Units (Chinese).	Measurage. Basic.	Presents.	Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Tls.	Tls.	Tls.		
1819	William Pitt	? 800	251·7	1,875	1,950	3,825	Goqua.	From Benkulen.
,,	Streatham	850	254·1	1,893	1,950	3,843	Kinqua.	From Calcutta.
,,	Marquis of Ely	1,367	331·6	2,470	1,950	4,420	Fatqua.	From St. Helena.
,,	Bombay	1,279	313·9	2,338	1,950	4,288	Howqua.	From Bombay.
,,	Herefordshire	1,295	337·0	2,510	1,950	4,460	Mowqua.	,,
1820	Earl Balcarras	1,200	363·8	2,724	1,950	4,674	Puiqua.	
,,	Thames	1,200	343·9	2,625	1,950	4,575	Mowqua.	
,,	General Hewitt	1,000	267·9	2,053	1,950	4,003	Puankhequa.	
,,	Orwell	1,200	343·7	2,606	1,950	4,556	Chunqua.	
,,	Scaleby Castle	1,200	304·6	2,312	1,950	4,262	Conseequa.	Company's own ship.
,,	Princess Amelia	1,200	317·8	2,437	1,950	4,387	Exchin.	
,,	Lady Campbell	700	197·3	1,486	1,950	3,436	Manhop.	
,,	Marchioness of Ely	1,200	280·0	2,085	1,950	4,035	Poonequa.	
,,	Warren Hastings	1,200	281·7	2,102	1,950	4,052	Goqua.	
,,	Coutts	1,200	340·0	2,564	1,950	4,514	Kinqua.	
,,	Castle Huntly	1,200	316·9	2,364	1,950	4,314	Fatqua.	
,,	Prince Regent	1,000	267·5	2,051	1,950	4,001	Puiqua.	
,,	Asia	1,000	279·4	2,105	1,950	4,055	Mowqua.	
,,	Buckinghamshire	1,200	330·6	2,513	1,950	4,463	Puankhequa.	
,,	Duke of York	1,200	336·5	2,539	1,950	4,489	Chunqua.	
,,	Astell	800	235·6	1,799	1,950	3,749	Consequa.	
,,	London	1,200	326·8	2,451	1,950	4,401	Exchin	Company's own ships.
,,	Canning	1,200	343·2	2,569	1,950	4,519	Manhop	Company's own ships.
,,	Dorsetshire	1,200	297·6	2,217	1,950	4,167	Poonequa.	
,,	Winchelsea	1,200	339·6	2,536	1,950	4,486	Goqua.	
,,	Dunira	1,200	315·9	2,353	1,950	4,303	Kinqua.	
,,	Marquis of Huntly	1,200	312·8	2,330	1,950	4,280	Fatqua.	
,,	Lady Melville	1,200	306·2	2,281	1,950	4,231	Puiqua.	

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